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ABSTRACT

Looking primarily at the issues of black students at South African universities and of access and bursaries, the seven articles contained in this document focus on access to tertiary education, the kind of support provided to students once they have gained access, and the roles for which people are being educated. Following an introduction by John Samuel, the first article, "Underprepared Students in Underprepared Universities," by Hugh H. Philpott puts forward an alternative manner of addressing the issue of academic support programs more integrally related to the university. In the second article, "Black Universities: The Persistent Challenge," Buti Tlhagale examines the constraints and challenges of the universities and recognizes them as important arenas in the struggle for democratic university education in South Africa. The third article, "The University of Durban-Westville: The Struggle for a Progressive Identity" by Ratnamala Singh, highlights the danger of viewing all of the black universities as the same. The fourth article, "Persistent Problems at Tertiary Level: Some Possible Solutions Developing at the University of the Western Cape," Merlyn C. Mehl and G. Jakes Gerwel address ways to extend resources so that large numbers of students have access. In the fifth article, "Bursaries in South Africa: Factors To Consider in Drafting a Five-Year Plan," Neville Alexander points out the need for an effective research capacity, coordination, and the development of a database. In the sixth article, "Manpower Needs in South Africa: Challenges Facing Education and Educators," George Negota notes the urgent need to identify priority fields in the areas of human resources development. The final article, "How Recent Developments in Tertiary Education in South Africa Affect Overseas Study: Observations and Questions from a U.S.-based Bursary Administering Agency" by Sheila Avrin McLean, addresses the need for more effective information on issues. A list of 24 participants concludes the document. (CK)

South African Information Exchange Working Paper Number 23

Educational Initiatives at the Tertiary Level for Black South Africans: Constraints, Changes, and Challenges

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Edited by John Samuel and Ann McKinstry Micou
October 1992



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PREFACE

From April 17-21, 1989, 24 people--private and public donors from outside the country and resource people from South Africa--met at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Study and Conference Center in Italy to discuss educational initiatives at the tertiary level for black South Africans.

This workshop was the second of two meetings convened by the Institute of International Education in New York under the direction of Sheila Avrin McLean, Vice President of IIE. The first was held at Magdalen College, Oxford, in September 1988, and was attended by 45 people from OECD countries and from bursary organizations in South Africa. The April 1989 Bellagio meeting was co-chaired by Ms. McLean and John Samuel, Executive Director of the SACHED Trust.

Each workshop had as its purpose to engage donors and South Africans in a dialogue on tertiary education for black South Africans and attendant issues--for example, academic support and bridging programs, appropriate interventions at black universities, and alternative bursary-financing schemes and admissions criteria.

Two main conclusions of the Bellagio workshop were the resolution on behalf of the South African participants to continue the effort in South Africa under the auspices of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and their encouragement to donors to proceed, as they wish, with evaluative research.

This report contains the papers that were delivered over the course of the four days in Bellagio. The report is intended for wide dissemination so that the ideas presented here can provide some foundation for the deliberations that are continuing within the country on educational strategies and initiatives for a new South Africa.

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Introduction

John Samuel

The general educational crisis has not confined itself to the schools, but has also had an impact on the universities--more and more underprepared students, the nature of universities in a changing South Africa contexts and therefore the kind of choices universities have to make, and access to financial resources.

The Bellagio meeting focused primarily on the issue of black students at these universities and the issues of access and bursaries.

We looked at three questions--and related issues--that I believe provide a framework for the papers to be presented. The three were critical to a discussion of the administration of bursaries and their role:

One, who has access to tertiary education?

Who, in fact, gets through to tertiary-level education? Which groups are neglected? How do we enable students to have equal access? What are the strategies, the practical steps we must devise? It is important to describe the parameters of the issue. The assumption that it only involves universities is wrong.

In particular, I suggested that we focus on the question of access on the factors of race, gender, and location (that is, urban/rural). Access is not just getting more blacks into tertiary-level institutions; other imbalances exist, as well. It is important to be aware of these imbalances if one is to make sense of the Government strategy, which is to create as many divisions as possible (including between people inside and people outside). Two, what kind of support is provided to students once they have gained access? What can we do?

Student support is not just the responsibility of the university, technikon, and teacher-training college; it should involve bursary organizations, churches, student groups, advice career centres. Just providing a bursary does not enable the student to survive. We need to develop areas and structures of support.

Three, what are we educating people for?

This question has behind it assumptions that will reveal long-term thinking. If we look at the educational arena, we are looking at statistics like the following:

- Eight million illiterates (60 percent of the black population);
- Sixty percent of any one black cohort will not have had more than four years of schooling;
- Eighty-five percent of the able-bodied population contributes 32 percent of the skilled (high-level) people. The majority of this 32 percent are teachers, nurses, and members of the ministry.
- Engineering: In 1965, the black contribution was zero; in 1985, 0.6 percent;

- Science: In 1965, 0.6 percent; in 1985, 5.5 percent;
- Medicine: In 1965, 2 percent; in 1985, 8 percent;
- Law: In 1965, 0.9 percent; in 1985, 6 percent;
- Architecture: In 1965, 0 percent; in 1985, 3 percent;
- Management: In 1965, 0.4 percent; in 1985, 4 percent.

One can see from these figures that the contribution of black skilled people is at atrociously low levels. When one is confronted with these horrendous consequences of Bantu education, the task that presents itself is a need to develop a strategy that will intervene immediately, but will also apply in the medium-to-long term.

How we educate our people will determine how we build a new South Africa.

The papers presented at the meeting directed themselves at the following key issues of university education:

- Ways and means of improving access to university education;
- The role and potential for change in black universities;
- Strategies for improving financial access at universities and broadening access through innovative admissions criteria;
- Effective planning and utilisation of limited financial resources;
- University education and long-term human resources needs in a future South Africa; and
- Policy choices in improving overseas study opportunities.

Hugh Philpott's paper put forward an alternative manner of addressing the issue of academic support programmes more integrally related to the university. The controversial nature of academic support programmes at universities has generated the need to address this issue in a more effective manner. Given the actual and potential growth of black students going to universities, who come out of an inadequate educational system, the idea of an intermediate tertiary college (ITC) as put forward in the Philpott paper must remain a valid challenge to universities.

While clearly presenting an innovative challenge, the concept of an ITC equally raises certain questions. These questions are centered around long-term appropriateness of the concept in addressing the problems of underprepared students, the potential of the ITC concept to have an impact on and bring about change in the mainstream university, and the danger of the ITC concept being seen as simply a glamorised academic support programme.

A significant characteristic of the provision of university education in South Africa is the large number of black students located in 'black universities.' The nature of these universities is both complex and challenging. Both the Tlhagale and Singh papers examine the constraints and challenges of these universities and recognize them as important arenas in the struggle for

democratic university education in South Africa.

Mala Singh's paper highlights the danger of seeing all of the 'black universities' as the same. The potential to bring about change and gain more space at these universities varies in terms of context, historical background, the role of particular individuals, and the capacity to engage and challenge the university. While recognizing the importance of constantly opening up spaces in these universities, offsetting this by the real constraints that exist on the ground needs to be given serious consideration.

Nevertheless, the fact that this is where the majority of black students are located needs to be considered in any strategy that addresses changes in university education.

Our ability to understand the potential of these universities to change must relate to our view of them as discrete institutions--each one being shaped by its own set of distinct factors--and of our view of them as being capable of change and not as prisoners of apartheid.

The most positive example of this has been the changes that have occurred over the last four or five years at the University of the Western Cape.

The growing pressure on limited university resources, and in particular finances, has thrown up a need for universities and bursary support organizations to be both creative and innovative in their response to this pressure.

The Gerwel and Mehl paper addresses ways and means of extending these resources so that large numbers of students have access. The shift from viewing bursaries as simple hand-outs to seeing them as related to educational development is significant. The development of a greater sense of accountability among student, community, and university in accessing and democratising these resources must remain a key issue.

To improve access to university education, the paper raises the question of alternative admissions criteria. Existing admissions criteria at university are clearly inadequate and wasteful. While innovative inquiries into the formulation of alternative admissions criteria continue, the need for more comprehensive research capacity is vital if this problem is going to be addressed.

In the context of a more rapidly changing South Africa, the need for medium- to long-term planning assumes urgency. Our ability to shape and develop the future of this country will relate to our capacity to plan, coordinate, and to strategise. As part of this process, the Alexander paper points out the need for an effective research capacity, coordination, and the development of a database in such areas as funding and donors, bursaries, allocation of resources, and priority fields.

The urgent need to identify priority fields in the areas of human resources development in South Africa is focused on in the Negota paper. The paper points to the vast shortages in the distribution of skilled people in South Africa and in so doing raises many critical issues around the process of preparing and developing human resources.

Given the vast imbalances that have to be corrected, what should be the determining factors in working out national priorities, who should be involved in this process, and how should it occur. In an interim phase leading up to a democratic South Africa, there will clearly be limited resources and competing demands. The development of human resources is not simply filling in the right numbers. The formulation of a strategic plan that addresses both short-to-medium term

human resources needs as well as long-term ones is vital. The choices we make and the priority fields we identify must relate to a democratic and just South Africa.

The common theme running through the papers was the need for a more informed basis to make meaningful decisions. This need is particularly crucial in our relationship with donor agencies supporting internal as well as external education and training opportunities.

Overseas study opportunities have been subject to critical--and sometimes hostile--response in South Africa. Clearly, study opportunities must be viewed along a continuum of internal and external opportunities; however, our ability to make decisions and influence policy in these areas will relate to the quality of the information we generate. The McLean paper speaks to the need for more effective information on issues such as distribution of study opportunities--graduate/undergraduate; priority fields of study; and selection criteria.

While the papers have raised substantial issues in the area of provision of university education, they have also begun the process of laying the foundation for addressing some of the questions. They represent in their presentation of specific recommendations an important starting point in developing a knowledge base for ongoing discussions.

A secondary consideration that informed the meeting was the urgent need for bursary organisations to begin to coordinate their work and their resources. The South African participants undertook to pursue this idea back in South Africa with all interested parties.

Against the backdrop of limited resources and rapidly expanding student population, the Bursary Council of South Africa was constituted in January 1990. The practical reasons for coordination, as well as strategic, make the creation of a bursary-coordinating structure in South Africa essential.

We see these papers as contributing to wider discussion on issues such as access to tertiary education and bursaries and their management, but also facilitating the possibilities of coordination and more effective working together in South Africa.

In the face of the rapid shift of the political context in South Africa, the need to develop an effective policy on both present and future educational and training needs must assume priority. Donor intervention and support in this area can only improve in relation to our ability to continue a process of ongoing dialogue, which will communicate our priorities and needs to the donors. The role of the Bursary Council in the process would be critical.

Underprepared Students in Underprepared Universities

Professor H.H. Philpott

Preface

I need to express a concern. I am being given the opportunity to express my viewpoint on educational issues and funding to a powerful group of donors. The donors are only accountable to their individual organisations (governments, foundations, agencies). The viewpoints I present could have significant impact on the donors and their considerable funding resources. However, I was selected to come to this conference in my own capacity and thus have a very limited mandate. I was not chosen by my own University to represent it, though the Student Support Services in the University of Natal do give me their mandate in retrospect. I have consulted with colleagues in Academic Support Programmes in the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand.

Important organisations such as student bodies, community-based organisations (particularly in the field of education), and universities were not asked to send representatives to represent their views. It is imperative that donors at the conference accept our limitations and receive the information given in that light. It is important that a more democratic consultation be conducted before important decisions on funding are taken. Such a consultation is a matter of great urgency as there is an immediate need for financial support for black students in South Africa.

Underprepared Students in Underprepared Universities

South Africa is moving towards a democratic society; this cannot be halted. It will take time, even after apartheid has been discarded. South African universities are being democratised. This will take time, longer for some than for others.

The context: our South African environment

Universities can no longer plan in isolation from their environment. We are in South Africa. Important components are:

- The state--no longer a monolith--it is dividing. Has no answers. Becomes more repressive;
- Business--more linked to the state than to the democratic movement;
- Democratic movement--Has been severely battered, particularly in the education sphere. However, it is active and healthy, as seen in its ability to mount the calls for peace.

What does a university like the University of Natal have to offer?

- Human resources;
- Institutional infrastructure;
- Moral influence;
- Ideological influence;
- Mediating agency; and

- Protection for community-based organisations.

What roles can we/are we playing?

- Transformation;
- Enabling, empowering;
- Development of new organisations;
- Redistribution of knowledge and resources;
- Need to be realistic and recognise that there are different degrees of response in the different sectors of the University. There is progressive leadership at executive level, full support by many research and outreach units and progressive academics, but little encouragement from many other academics and a lot of foot-dragging by middle level administrators; and
- Raising funds to provide access for black students into the university.

How can we fulfill these roles?

The University of Natal is developing a Mission Statement that attempts to outline its perception of its expanding role in relation to the student body, academic staff, and surrounding community. This is regarded as a dynamic document that will change with changing circumstances and renewed perceptions. What follows are some of the consequences of the Mission Statement. Some have already been fulfilled; others are still to be addressed.

By changing the internal structures in the University

- Council constituency;
- Consultation with community groups;
- Increasing democratisation of all processes (e.g., departmental planning, staff selection);
- Including students in the process of decision making; and
- Equal opportunity by affirmative action.

Role vis a vis the privileged, who are mostly white

- In the face of media suppression, gather information and inform people inside and outside the university;
- Mobilise people to participate in initiatives for change and to isolate the apartheid regime;
- White students are socially and politically underprepared in the context of academic over-preparedness. They know the rules of the game and have access to financial support and so can retain their privileged status quo--address this;
- Protest; and
- Ensure that internal structures in the university form an appropriate model for society.

Responsibility to the oppressed who are black

- Eliminate all elements of racism in the university;
No compromise with racism;
Democratic practice.
- Role in defence of blacks:
Expose truth re black education;
Protest.

- Probing the future:
Applied research in community development;
Contribution to People's Education; e.g., through Education Projects Unit;
Make human resources available;
New experiments in community education programmes.
- Cooperation with Black Student's Society on campus:
This includes assisting them to balance their important political involvement with their own educational advancement.
- In the school system:
Research in school enrollment and present examination systems (which is getting worse not better);
Alternative education programmes for those out of school;
Additional tuition for those in school;
Curriculum development;
Retraining of teachers;
Links with teacher-training colleges.

Educational development in the universities

Evolution of this process is dynamic. What we did in the past was good for then and for the small number of black students we then had. Now the numbers are escalating and we are gaining new insights. So, the programmes and strategies are evolving. The most important issues are:

- Student access to the university;
- Always being aware that the problem is at the learning/teaching interface, and is not just the problem of a disadvantaged students;
- Appropriateness of the curriculum;
- Appropriateness of the learning/teaching experience with the goal of encouraging lifelong learning;
- Creating an environment/climate that is conducive to educational development.

The progression in educational development in recent years

- Past:
Extra tuition in language, learning skills and subject content.
- Present:
Still need this type of tuition for students registered in degree courses. Greater tendency to assist in language and learning skills in context of subject matter of their problem courses;
Analysis of the cognitive demands and task requirement of the various courses.
Make this more explicable to students;
Bridging programmes with or without some first year credits.
- Future:
An integration of all these various educational development programmes into an intermediate Tertiary College, replacing the first year at university, for all students.

- Evaluation of ASP/Educational Development thus far.

The intermediate Tertiary College would change the structure of the university, so that educational development becomes an integral part of the university. It would provide a pace appropriate to students' educational needs. It would also provide a diploma for those who do not proceed in the university at the completion of the two years in the Intermediate Tertiary College.

It is important that the Intermediate Tertiary College be situated in the university as it will serve to ensure that the resources of the university are directed towards the student needing educational development, and not just the students who had the opportunity to achieve in a privileged school. Communities could be encouraged to select quotas of students to come to the Intermediate Tertiary College, in that way ensuring a proper urban rural distribution and also satisfying work demands in the community.

Student selection and access to the university

- The invalidity of the matriculation as the determinant of access.
- The Teach-Test-Teach research programme which includes:
Recruitment of suitable applicants by committee;
Fair distribution urban/rural, male/female;
Test potential, regardless of previous opportunity to achieve;
Provides educational development to convert potential into learning achievement.
- Results and analysis of the Teach-Test-Teach will be provided.

Trend towards staff development

A number of academic departments have approached Student Support Services to provide workshops for their own staff to enable them to provide educational development for students within their own departments. This trend is increasing--in response the University of Natal is creating a further senior post within Student Support Services to cater for staff development. We need to assist those who are excellent in their subject discipline to retain that excellence and help them to advance educational development programmes in their discipline. This is best done by involving them in the process of educational research and development.

Radical change in educational structures

A number of medical faculties in South Africa have recognised that they are not preparing students appropriately to deal with the major deficiencies in health care in the country. South Africa has a wealth of highly specialised referral-type hospitals and a dearth of primary health care provision. This is a reflection of the type of medical education provided in the seven medical schools in the country. We can do heart transplants better than anyone else, but we cannot provide measles vaccine for all our children.

Some medical schools are planning for a shift from an educational system that is hospital-based and specialty-oriented to one that is community-based, problem-solving. Not only will this help meet our health needs more appropriately, but also it will help to set free the minds of young people shackled by twelve years of rote learning.

This breakthrough in medicine is parallel in law, music, town and regional planning, etc., but needs to extend to other faculties, in order to meet the needs of the deprived in South Africa.

Funding issues:

- The economic environment in South Africa; i.e., huge discrepancies in wealth plus enormous spending on defence and apartheid structures;
- South African universities receive approximately eighty percent of their funding from the state;
- There is no subsidy for educational development;
- Government still labels some of us "white," even though we practice an open, affirmative action policy on student admissions. They then state the obvious, that white access should not increase, and impose upon us a no-growth edict. This creates an even greater challenge to affirmative action programmes;
- Twenty-to-twenty-five percent subsidy cuts, so have had to rationalize and redistribute our limited resources;
- Black students who do not live in the "homelands" do not get central Government funding;
- The state has threatened subsidy cuts if universities do not police their own campuses in order to impose state curbs. Some of the universities, including the University of Natal, refused and successfully challenged the Minister of Education in the Supreme Court.

The call to donors is not to support "white" universities, but to help them become less white and more representative of the community they serve. More and more black students are demanding access to these previously "white" universities as they see them maintaining academic standards in the context of social change. Also, the democratic movement is calling for access to these universities, while at the same time calling for their transformation away from white privilege to true openness. Student Support Services are providing a crucial role in this transformation and there is a strategic need to push this progressive influence to greater momentum.

How are the educational development/ASP initiatives presently funded?

- Not by the state;
- Major commitment by the universities (thirteen staff posts in the University of Natal), paying from their central funds;
- Partly by donors.

What type of funding is most appropriate?

This is a particular issue that must have student comment. They may question some of these proposals:

- Student financial aid that provides a mixed package of loan, earning capacity, and bursary;
- System whereby donors, student organisations, community organisations, and university administration work in harmony to allocate and administer the bursaries;
- Bursaries to have an added "enrichment" component to provide for their educational development needs;
- The package must cover the students' total financial needs, after careful analysis of their financial resources. Many are indigent, though some have resources;
- The "internship" program developed by one particular donor has proved the most acceptable. It provides an educational mentor, research experience, community work, an influence on the mentor, and earned finance for the student. Thus, for example, students may go out to teach literacy for the poor, thus helping to avoid the elitism of the present educational system.

Black Universities: The Persistent Challenge

Father Buti Tlhagale

Background: A Conflict of Political Languages

The air in South Africa is thick with the rhetoric of change. Suddenly a new vocabulary, a new language, has emerged. This new language intends to promulgate and inculcate a different ideology, a new set of values and goals. Public speech has become a manifestation of a new mode of thinking and, perhaps, of acting. This new language aims at molding new attitudes within the body politic. It seeks to subvert the old language whose function was to maintain and control the traditional socio-political thought patterns that, in turn, reinforced and retained the cohesiveness of the authoritarian apartheid system. New words are, therefore, being coined in search of, and in anticipation of, a new socio-economic dispensation.

The following expressions, for example, capture the new mood, the new aspirations, and the new realignments. The vision of a unitary, democratic, nonracial state supported by the bill of rights that provides for an independent judiciary seeks to supercede and suppress the language of a state founded on race and yesterday's aspiration for a black majority rule. New groupings, ranging from trade unions and professional associations to political groups, have reemerged as the embodiment of progressive ideas and the vision of a single South African nation. We now speak of "open" universities, of people's education, of an alternative press. Universal franchise has become the catchword of the day. The defiant recognition of the ANC and the PAC and the call for their unbanning has introduced a major shift in the political power play.

Even the present totalitarian Government, in spite of its increased repression through the State of Emergency, its suppression of radical, political opposition and the severe muzzling of the press, has introduced its own language of reform. Apartheid is rejected as the official guiding ideology, even though it is still retained in practice. Blacks are now labeled citizens even though they do not enjoy basic civil liberties.

This is a language of change without change. It is clearly a deceptive language that enjoys the backing of political and military power. It is the language of a government that seeks to buy time, to forestall dissent, to solicit tolerance whilst simultaneously upholding the status quo. This is the language that dominates public speech in the absence of clearly-articulated political goals. It is against this Babel of political tongues that one wishes to look at the reality of black universities.

Ideological Shifts

In spite of the rhetoric of change, universities are, by and large, still caught in the warp and weave of the old order. It is generally accepted that black education can no longer be tailor-made in accordance with the needs as perceived and determined by a government policy that envisaged segregated nations within South Africa and that, furthermore, carved a subservient role for black people. Black people were intended to serve the economy of white South Africa. This shift began in the seventies when it had become clear that the manpower needs of the economy could no longer be satisfied by the importation of overseas skilled labour. It was also anticipated that the economic needs of the country would contribute significantly towards the collapse of the apartheid ideology.

Back in 1969, Slabbert and Welsh argued that "it remains true that white and black, whatever inequalities between them, share a common economic base whose potential can be realised by joint endeavors. Vigorous efforts to break the association of race and class would surely heighten the awareness of superordinated goals by bringing increasing numbers into executive, managerial, professional, and supervisory capacities, from which vantage point the delicate web of economic interdependence many be more readily appreciated" (South Africa's Options, 1979, David Philip). Ten years later the above statement had not yet been translated into a meaningful practice.

Another major ideological shift was couched in the acceptance of blacks as permanent residents in the heartland of South Africa and not as temporary sojourners from the "homelands." This confirmed the ideological shift in Government policy. The needs of the economy had been taken into serious account.

The De Lange Report, commissioned by the Government to look into black education in the wake of student unrest, did not introduce any radical changes. From then onwards, black education was to be spoken of as "separate but equal."

Status Quo

The shifts at the ideological and theoretical levels did not, necessarily, translate themselves in significant material terms. The projected manpower needs of the economy did not lead to substantive investments in black education either by the business sector or the Government. There was no sudden urgency to create engineering schools, computer science faculties, or the strengthening of business schools at black universities. The resources of the black universities, therefore, remain limited. The recognition of manpower needs at a theoretical level did not resolve itself in concrete undertaking aimed at preparing black students for meaningful participation in the economy. At best, limited numbers of bursaries have been made available to those students interested in pursuing science and technical fields of study. Thus the language of change and the demands of the economy have not had the necessary impact on black universities. On the contrary, the Government thought it imperative that large numbers of students should be diverted to technikons in order to respond to the technological manpower needs for the development of the country (Race Relations Survey: 1987/1988, p. 198).

The role of black universities as educational institutions has been rather ambivalent. The ethos and functions of the white universities have been directed at preparing students for qualified career positions and for the production of technically-exploitable knowledge. These two functions explain the interest and investment of the private sector in university education and research. The theoretical recognition of the model of economic interdependence and the advocacy of socio-political change by "Big Business" in the recent years has not facilitated the migration of funding from Big Business to black universities. Their self-interest has been circumscribed to white universities. Thus one can reluctantly conclude that black universities are not yet seen as an integral part of the South African society and economy.

Majority to Remain at Black Universities

Figures alone indicate that, within the foreseeable future, there will be no dramatic changes with regard to the racial composition of the student enrollment at black universities:

Racial composition of student enrollment at black universities

1983	10,676	(excel. Unitra 2,138)
1984	20,256	(excel. Unitra 2,800; Venda 1,300)
1985	22,847	(excel. Unitra 2,500; Venda 2,000; Unibo 1,500)
1986	31,003	(excel. Unitra 3,077; Unibo 2,000)
1987	34,500	(excel. Unitra 4,000; Unibo 2,300)

The other racial groups constitute about 1.5 percent of the total enrollment figure. Given the prevailing conditions at black universities, there is no reason to believe that there will be dramatic increase of students other than Africans at these institutions. On the contrary, the tendency among African students is to seek entry into the "open" university. The total number of African students at the English-speaking universities was 4,000 in 1987 (RR Survey 1986, part 2). Besides, already in 1983 the English-speaking universities increased their entrance requirements. This meant that students with lower marks would be effectively excluded from the open universities.

Given this picture, therefore, the anticipation that there is likely to be an exodus of African students to "open" universities is unwarranted. The politics of nonracialism have turned the spotlight on the small numbers that enter the "open" universities. First, they are said to symbolise the breakdown of segregation in education. They are also seen as offering quality education which has been denied to black people for a long time. Both these assertions are generally vehemently challenged by those who are at black universities. The presence of about nine percentage of African students at open universities is still very much perceived as mere tokenism, a broken symbol. "Open" universities have been part and parcel of the apartheid tradition. They would have to be more innovative than they are at present in order to demonstrate their abandonment of segregation. The racial composition of their faculty members and student population depicts these institutions as institutions for the privileged white group. They are yet to become the "people's" institutions. As for the alleged quality education, those at black universities acknowledge the serious limitation under which they operate and yet, in spite of the disadvantaged academic background of their students, believe that their students acquit themselves rather well.

To an outside observer, interest is once more focused on the privileged institutions, privileged in terms of financial, material, and human resources. This time, the new resources are in the name of the numerically-few black students.

Prejudice Against Black Universities

Black universities have been generally shunned because they are said to be apartheid institutions, as if the "open" universities have not for years been apartheid institutions themselves (albeit privileged apartheid institutions) and, indeed, they continue to be so, if one takes into serious consideration the nature of the institutions and the majority of its clients. The avoidance of black universities, as if they are their own creation, is clearly a classic example of perpetuating discrimination against black students and faculty simply because they happen to be caught in the web of apartheid institutions.

The vicious cycle of upheavals on black campuses is also used as a reason for shunning them to a point where some sponsors forbid their scholarships to be tenable at these institutions. Upheavals, the drop-out rate, and failure rate are cited as part of the cluster of reasons that militate against investment in black universities. Ironically future leadership questions and human resource development issues will have to be confronted where the majority of the black students are, otherwise a veritable post-apartheid society will never see the light of the day even if political power control may change from the present regime to a nonracial, democratic government. Apartheid will simply continue under a new rubric. Black institutions must therefore also serve as the gateway to the upliftment of the majority of the people by producing technically-exploitable knowledge and qualified graduates who are imbued with a critical spirit and committed to democratic ideals and practices.

University Context at Issue

The unending spiral of protests, boycotts, and general upheavals is deeply rooted in the political character of the context of the universities. The deeply-rooted dissatisfaction with the socio-political order and the lacerated cultural environment constitute the living space, the life-world, of the students. Unlike the government, and at times some of the university administrators, the students see themselves at one with the broader socio-political context. The ministry of education on the other hand is manned by people who come from entirely different traditions (race and class). The ministry perceives a university in traditional terms: a place where careers are molded; a place where technically-exploitable knowledge is generated; a place where the offspring of the working class is transformed into an elite class of professional men and women, a kind of a "rationalized factory" intended to produce labour for industry.

As far as the black students are concerned, a sojourn at university is not necessarily an exclusive moment of retreat from the broader society and its pains and aspirations. The university is not exclusively a "liminal" experience or the experience of a "moment in and out of time." The university is seen as an integral part of the community of the oppressed, and so students cannot set their goals exclusively on academic achievements. The broader aspirations for freedom from the oppressive rulers of society are felt and grasped in their immediacy. Thus, the university becomes the very cauldron where the formation of political consciousness takes place. The universities have therefore become the mirror of the travails of the broader community of the oppressed where cultural alienation, economic powerlessness, and political impotence are the constitutive elements of sheer negative existence. Each generation of university students seeks to participate in and come to terms with this experience. But this aspiration to face up to alienation is equally embraced by members of the broader society, hence the reality of dissent. Activities of rent and consumer boycotts, strikes and stayaways, are perceived as being essentially emancipatory.

Protests on the campuses are inextricably linked with such off-campus activities, because they are seen as the students' expression of outrage and solidarity. They are perceived as the students' contribution to the liberation struggle.

Fighting for Justice

Unlike the protests at Berkeley and at the Free University of Berlin in the 60s, where the white middle-class youth were most dissatisfied with the morality of their society, authoritarianism, and traditionalism, black students at the black universities are themselves products of the working class and of the unemployed. They have experienced the crush of poverty; they have been themselves or have seen their fellow-students being brutalized by the police; they have been detained or harassed by the army on campus. Thus, the struggle on campus

is not simply an intellectual opposition to the dominant ideas of the present age; it is not just a resistance against certain habits of thinking and certain imposed ideals presumed to be consistent with the ideals of a university education--it is equally a fierce opposition to the stifling of an enquiring, critical mind and an uncompromising rejection of injustice entrenched in the constitution and in the traditions of the apartheid society. It is, therefore, logical to assume that the cycle of upheavals will not be broken until the harshness of the unjust society begins to change its complexion.

While the workers primarily express their opposition to the apartheid regime and to management on the shop-floor, students express their opposition by seizing upon education-related issues to express their outrage. University institutions are the familiar environment. They are the students' own turf. They are the readily-available platform where resistance can be visibly acted out. These universities are institutions where, at one moment, students experience a collective sense of belonging and, at another, a sense of alienation--alienation because the institutions' sense of autonomy is determined by Government policy and Government interference and indeed the sheer burden of traditionalism.

Attitudes of Some White Lecturers

One of the more salient features upon which the students have seized with unrelenting tenaciousness is the issue of lecturers perceived as being racist or uncaring in their attitudes. This is also linked to lecturers known or suspected of supporting the Nationalist party responsible for the policy of racial segregation and injustice in the land. If such lecturers reject the equality of people, it is morally unacceptable that the very same persons should also be responsible for the education of people whom they deem (intellectually) inferior or socially unacceptable. Lecturers who have not made any effort to dispel suspicions of racism have inadvertently linked the universities with the continuum of the broader apartheid society. They themselves have become the object of ridicule among the students. They have contributed towards dragging the universities into institutions of disrepute among the students. While lecturers of this kind may be few in number, it is their symbolic presence that has had the negative effect. It is against this particular background that one can grasp the full import of Zeke Mphahlele's comment "...that no respectable nation had handed over the conditioning of the minds of its youth--its future human resources--to foreigners" (Capricorn Papers, No. 1, p. 45, 1982). We may add especially those who do not even have the decency of concealing their own prejudices against the black people.

Those who teach cannot divorce their own personal authenticity, their identity, and their truthfulness from what they teach. One cannot in one's private life vote for a politically-repressive order or a socially-discriminating system and publicly or socially teach members of the oppressive society about education as being not just pertaining to cognitive activities but as also embracing political emancipation and freedom from bondage. Education is not just about careers and technically-exploitable knowledge, it is about the struggle for democracy. Those who have not been able to reconcile the ideal of a nonracial democracy with the very exercise of education sooner or later find themselves in a state of contradiction of personal inauthenticity and possibly deceit. Such a situation explains, in the South African context, the student's aggressive behavior towards lecturers who have not reckoned with such a situation.

In an ideologically-changing South Africa, a search for liberating truthfulness ought to be a joint project of teachers and students collectively. Where teachers and the administration have taken sides together against the state, ugly scenes have been averted, mutual confidence and respect have been reinforced, thus setting a pattern for collective behaviour in trying situations. Such joint efforts offer new responsibilities to the hitherto-troubled educational institutions.

Universities as Moral Institutions

Universities are not just institutions committed to the promotion of careers and the production of technical knowledge that will benefit society. They are equally (or ought to be equally) forceful moral institutions inexorably committed to socio-political change. If this does not apply elsewhere, it is certainly the expectation in the South African society, which is shot through with injustice. Those who are committed to the education of black students must share this conviction; otherwise, they will find themselves at odds with the majority of the university community.

Mutual Recognition

One of the tragic misconceptions and exaggerated myths built around black education is that black students have been inadequately prepared academically. Whereas it may be true that in the areas of science and math, black students have not been adequately exposed to the cultural world of science, this does not mean that they do not have their own capacity or competence. The lack of opportunities or the lack of a solid elementary preparation in the sciences should not be confused with or identified with the lack of academic potential or the absence of personal maturity. Teachers and learners must recognise each other as participants in the search for knowledge. The absence of mutual recognition on the part of some parties partly explains the nature of the internal strife at black universities. We have already alluded to this point in talking about prejudiced lecturers. Students have been clamouring for the maximization of democracy on the campuses. Such demands have intensified in the last ten years and those who have found themselves ideologically at odds with the students' demands have given way. This position has been reinforced by the ideological shift in the public arena--the relentless campaign for the democratisation of institutions and for the accountability of those who claim responsibility for the institutions.

Committed Teachers

There has also been a ferment at a different level. The university academic staffs have regrouped themselves, not just on the basis of academic profession but also on the basis of their own political bias in favour of a radically different socio-political order. Some members of academic staff do not believe in academic neutrality vis-a-vis the role of the university in the changing society. The universities are gradually being staffed by blacks themselves, who are equally outraged by the injustice prevalent in society and who increasingly see the university as an agent of socio-political change. They are therefore irreversibly committed to an autonomous university in a free society. This is a new generation of teachers who have themselves struggled against all odds to prove themselves worthy professionals. Their struggle is against traditionalism, state intervention, and self-imposed tutelage. They seek to see themselves as partners with their students in the fight for an untrammelled educational system. Teachers' identity, competence, intentions, political beliefs, and the way they present themselves can no longer be disassociated from their acquired positions. The present generation of teachers has a different set of values that are informed and influenced by the current debate that searches for new forms of emancipatory expressions and educational contents. The advocacy for alternative educational programs has unleashed a new spirit and new experimental programs. An increasing number of black teachers have had an opportunity to study or do research abroad and have masters degrees as opposed to a time when many of them only had an honours degree. The awareness that the need to acquire Ph.D.s in order to bolster their competence in the academic world has been heightened. There is also an awareness that the academic leadership at black universities can no longer be indefinitely provided by Afrikaners alone.

Administration

The pulse of the university administration does not always beat at the same pace as that of the academic staff. In this regard, universities differ but so, too, the priorities. While some universities frown upon the question of black leadership for the sake of black leadership, there is, however, the desire to have the possibility of blacks taking over the leadership. If Afrikaners and the English can be the exclusive leaders of their own academic institutions, there is no reason why blacks cannot be leaders of their own institutions and influence or interpret policy decisions as they see fit.

We are not saying that black universities should be led by blacks because they are black universities, but we are saying that Afrikaners are not the only competent academics.

University administrators are undoubtedly committed to the success of their schools, but they labour under what at times appear to be severe restraints. Government has imposed a self-control on them. At times, university administrators find themselves requesting the assistance of the police to quell disturbances on campus. This alone exacerbates the situation. The University of Bophuthatswana, Fort Hare, and Transkei are sensitive to the perceptions of the "homeland" governments in order to survive. Such a relationship, at times, interferes with the autonomy of the university.

Ideological Disassociation

When the black universities were established, they were ideologically and geographically linked to the "homelands." They were an integral part of the Government ideology of racial segregation. In the past decade there has been, in some instances, an uncoupling or ideological disassociation between the universities and the "homelands"--at the level of the staff and students. The derogatory label of "bush" universities has fallen into desuetude. There is more communication between the different universities. Mutual recognition is on the increase. There is more solidarity between the student bodies across the different campuses. Above all, the radical politics of the students have not been lost on the critics of black universities. The acceptance of the achievement-oriented mentality has been thoroughly challenged by the students who have sacrificed their academic programs in their fight for principles. Thus the role of the universities as agent for social change has been established, with the students themselves taking the lead.

The students have always seen themselves as part of South Africa. Indeed the black universities are part and parcel of South Africa. They can no longer be treated as academic lepers. They are primarily the reservoir for future human resources. The stigma attached to the black universities must be removed once and for all, so that these universities should be in a position to realise their own potential fully. At any rate, the universities have always seen themselves as performing their role well in spite of the imposed constraints. Outsiders are the ones responsible for the labels that they have not applied to white universities, which have practiced segregation for decades.

If we accept then that:

- The majority of black students will continue to be at black universities (at present more than 40,000);
- Black universities are part and parcel of the South African academic world and not necessarily part of the "homelands" as was originally planned by Government;

- Black universities refuse to be politically tamed by Government in spite of the army/police presence (admittedly at times the police presence is at the request of the university administration and not the student body);
- There is need to develop universities with an African and not necessarily a European ethos (African referring to socio-democratic values and the setting of priorities);
- The "open" universities have limited resources and can only accommodate a limited number of students;
- Strict admissions criteria will continue to exclude many students from disadvantaged academic backgrounds;
- And that white universities have not yet ceased to be entirely nonracial in attitude;

If we accept these arguments, then it is clear that black universities need to be given far more attention than they have been receiving up till now.

There are a number of areas that need to be looked into in order to assist these institutions:

- First, there is need to ensure that students do not drop out of their programs simply because of their inadequate academic preparation. It is the function of the university to find out how best it can redress the inadequacies of black education. There will be a need to mount research programs to find out how inadequacies in math, English, and science could be met. Black universities do not have to worry a great deal about the white universities, which are preoccupied with lowering standards, or about raising black students to the level of well-prepared white students. Thus remedial programs can be built into the entire program without the creation of specific support programs that appear to have a stigma for some students.
- There is also a need to look into the lower levels of education in order to remedy the inadequacies at that level. This again calls for research and specialised programs.
- There is a need to help black institutions to recruit and develop academic and nonacademic staff. This can be done and is done by offering of scholarships and research fellowships to black academics.
- Teachers should also be given incentives to do research and publish their findings.
- In order to ensure continuity, students interested in pursuing academic careers could be financially assisted on condition that they will teach for a number of years after completion of their studies.
- The questions of creating chairs for black academics is rather controversial. Some feel that such a move might be counterproductive. But the point is that such a step must be based on academic merit and not just because the person is black. Black academics must also be seen to be leaders and not always followers of Afrikaner academics or academics of other racial groups.
- Funding ought to be provided for specific research projects that will make a direct contribution towards the needs of society.

- Academic staff exchange programs should not just be limited to the First World only, but also to the Third World, so that the experience and expertise of other countries could be utilized in South Africa, which is, in any event, as far as the majority of the people are concerned, a Third World country.
- Some funding could be tied to some form of affirmative action that would benefit the university community.
- Lastly, those interested in black education ought to visit and talk more to black academics. Hitherto, black universities have been seen to be beyond the pale of civilization and have been systematically avoided by some sponsors. Some of the administrators and academic staff may be conservative, but this is no excuse for punishing the rest of the university community and people truly committed to the advancement of the black people. These institutions are agents of socio-political change and will increasingly respond to the human resources needs of the country. They too need to be assisted so as to reduce their dependence on the state.

The University of Durban-Westville: The Struggle for a Progressive Identity

Professor Mala Singh

In 1948, South African Prime Minister Dr. D.F. Malan stated the following in Parliament: "An intolerable state has arisen here in the past few years in our university institutions, a state of affairs which gives rise to friction, to an unpleasant relationship between Europeans and non-Europeans. We do not want to withhold higher education from the non-Europeans and we will take every possible step to give both the Natives and the Coloured peoples university training as soon as we can, but in their own sphere, in other words in separate institutions."(1)

The ethnicisation of universities was only one of the elements of a comprehensive and systematic National Party policy of legislating segregation. Universities, together with various other social institutions and practices, were to be located within the ideological perception of South African society as consisting of several self-contained peoples and cultures. "The necessity of maintaining ethnic ties in university institutions follows from a conviction that the future leader during his training, including his university training, must remain in close touch with the habits, ways of life and views of his population group."(2)

Apartheid education was a crucial factor in the National Party plan for the control of power and privilege in the future socio-economic development of South Africa. This agenda is, in contrast to the bland sentiments expressed earlier on, more crudely and explicitly articulated by Dr. H.F. Verwoerd when he introduced the Bantu Education Act in Parliament in 1953. "I just want to remind the Honourable Members of Parliament that if the native in South Africa is being taught to expect that he will lead his adult life under the policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake. The native must not be subject to a school system which draws him away from his own community, and misleads him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze."(3)

The National Party's grand plan for apartheid education began in 1949 with the government-appointed Eiselen Commission that recommended government control of 'Bantu Education,' which would serve as the basis for the development of 'Bantu culture.' The findings of the Commission were formalised in the Bantu Education Act, which was passed in 1953 to provide segregated education for Africans. In 1959 it was the turn of the universities to be brought in line. The Extension of University Education Act made provision for the establishment of four ethnically-determined colleges for black university students: The University College of the North (at Turfloop) for Sotho-, Pedi-, Tswana-, and Venda-speaking people; the University College of Zululand for Zulu speakers; the University College of the Western Cape for 'Coloureds,' and the University College, Durban, for Indians. The already-existing University of Fort Hare was placed under the Department of Bantu Education and forced to admit only Xhosa students.

Up to this point, black students were admitted to the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, and Natal (and Rhodes at postgraduate level), although in certain instances classes and facilities at these institutions were segregated. In 1959 these universities forfeited the right to decide on whom to admit as students. Enrollments of black students at the formerly 'open' universities and of whites at the university colleges for blacks were on the whole disallowed or else subject to ministerial approval. The University of South Africa (Unisa), which was a correspondence university, was allowed to register students from the different 'race groups,' although examination venues, graduation ceremonies, etc., were segregated.(4)

A later development in respect of the universities consistent with apartheid policy was that the 'homeland' territories that were granted independence either acquired new universities (as in the case of the Transkei and Bophuthatswana) or took control of existing universities (e.g., Lebowa in relation to the University of the North and Ciskei in relation to Fort Hare). Also Vista University was established to accommodate urban Africans.

Continuing developments in the history of apartheid education were the passing of the Coloured Person's Education Act in 1963, which vested control of education for 'Coloureds' in the Department of Coloured Affairs; the Indian Education Act in 1965, which placed 'Indian Education' under the Department of Indian Affairs; and the National Education Act in 1967, which established 'Christian National' principles as the basis for white education. These various steps, which sought to locate education in South Africa ruthlessly and systematically within the fold of the aims and the control mechanisms of apartheid policy, indicate unequivocally the political agenda behind educational 'planning and development' for blacks. The nature of the reaction to this agenda by the recipients of these educational plans could in turn only be political, requiring ideological resistance and the postulation of alternative conceptualisations of education as part of an alternative socio-political agenda. Docility, submission, and orderly acceptance of the principles and practices of apartheid education would have signalled the utter and defeat of the recipients and the total victory and control of the state.

Fortunately, for the sake of the disenfranchised and the exploited everywhere, no social struggle is ever this uncomplicated and straightforward. The contradictions and tensions within apartheid education and the manner in which they emerged and were seized upon in different contexts mark the history of black resistance to segregated and unequal education.(5) If schools and universities were intended as ideological contexts for educational processes whereby young people were to be further socialised into the acceptance of racial segregation, of necessity they became places of resistance against that intention.

I would like to return to the universities as sites of control as well as resistance. The 1959 Extension of University Education Act was strongly criticised by academics and others both in South Africa and abroad as a measure that would entrench racial discrimination at universities as well as violate university autonomy and academic freedom. Reaction and resistance took different forms in the different universities and sectors of society affected by the 1959 Act. In the case of a separate university for Indians, the reaction was one of strong protest, suspicion, and opposition to the idea of tribal universities. The objections were on different grounds:

- The narrowing of the educational process to an ethnic context;
- The degree of state control envisaged at these institutions;
- Doubts about the academic viability and potential of such institutions.

Already in 1958 Dr. A.D. Lazarus, President of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, had testified before a parliamentary select committee that "separate but equal" facilities meant 'unequal and inferior' opportunities for blacks." Lazarus continued, "In our view, the whole concept does a signal disservice to our country, because we can think of no surer way of breeding hate and dissension than by compelling people by law into separate places of learning, shut away from the influences which can promote interracial cooperation and understanding."(6)

The fact that the idea of a separate university for Indians was being implemented at the time of the centenary of the arrival of Indians in South Africa made it even more unacceptable as a symbolic reminder of a history of past injustices and discrimination. "The mood among the Indians in South Africa during this time, when they were celebrating the 100th anniversary of the

coming of the first Indians to Natal on 16 November 1860, set them against anything which isolated them from the rest of the South African population. During Centenary Week, no fewer than 25,000 attended the dedication service at Curries Fountain, in Durban. In various other centenary commemoration services in Natal, about 200,000 people, representing all race groups, came together to pay tribute. The central theme of all the gatherings expressed the multiracial character of South Africa, the unity and equality of all races."(7)

The Natal Indian Congress, together with the more conservative Natal Indian Organisation, issued a joint statement saying "That this attempt should happen to us on the eve of the centenary of our settlement in this country is adding insult to injury and makes us cry out in anger against the rank injustice upon a people who have given unstintingly of their lives, labour and learning towards the progress and development of their multiracial country." (8) The black SRC at University of Natal also strongly condemned "The establishment of tribal universities without any respect or consideration for the wishes of the non-European group."(9)

The Natal Indian Congress, which had already urged Indians not to be associated with the new college in any way(10), sponsored a conference in December 1960, which was attended by 170 delegates from over fifty "political, educational, cultural, social, and religious organisations."(11) Declaring, among other things, that the establishment of racially-separate universities would entrench racial antagonism and bitterness and lead to the lowering of standards, the conference condemned the "whole concept of Tribal Universities and resolves upon a policy of total noncooperation with an institution designed to carry into effect the Nationalist Party Policy of indoctrination for servitude."(12) Indians were called upon not to serve on the Advisory Council, whites not to serve on the Council, teachers from all communities not to accept teaching posts, and parents and students to explore alternative possibilities for university education.(13)

Despite the strong and widespread opposition to the segregated college among Indian people and others, it was precisely the lack of viable alternatives that forced Indian students in steadily-increasing numbers to seek university education at an institution whose origins were abhorred and rejected. And so the university college for Indians started operating in 1961, with 114 students and with the political stigma of ethnic ghettoism on the one hand, and collaboration with apartheid on the other, completely overshadowing any conventional academic or educational expectations.

I have taken a while to reach this point, but this is in fact where my paper proper starts-- to examine the context and the manner in which such a politically and academically flawed institution began to function and to chart some of the ways in which resistance to an apartheid institution and to apartheid itself manifested itself within the university, to examine the struggle to move the institution in a more progressive direction by resisting and often subverting its original agenda. A history of this kind moves between two powerful images associated not only with the University of Durban-Westville but with the other ethnically-established universities as well. The early image is of a rigidly Broederbond-controlled institution of dubious academic worth, completely under the whip of the state and unopposed by the supporters, collaborators, and/or victims of the system who worked and studied there. The more recent image is of an institution plagued by endemic unrest, political agitation, boycott, and a minimal academic process again of dubious worth. The reality behind these one-dimensional images is much more complex and includes a number of different phases in the history of the institution and struggles on several fronts in the journey towards an alternative identity from the one originally imposed and enforced mutations thereof.

The first Rector of the University College was Professor S.P. Olivier whose name appears

on a list of Broederbond members published in Wilkins and Strydom's book The Super-Afrikaners. The ethnic universities all started with Broederbond members as principals or rectors. The activity and influence of the Broederbond, a shadowy organisation established in 1918 to "harness political, social, and economic forces in South Africa to its cause of ultimate Afrikaner domination"(14) can be detected within Parliament and outside in every sector of life. "Its all-pervading influence has made its indelible mark on South Africa. The Bantustan policies, the Christian national education policy, the sport policy, the coloured and Indian policy--all the major political peculiarities which have shaped South Africa into a constitutional oddity bear the stamp of the Broederbond on their formulation and execution. Beneath the trappings of Parliamentary 'democracy,' and behind the remarkable success of South Africa's ruling National Party, lies the extraordinary power of the Broederbond."(15) Wilkins and Strydom attribute the National Party plan to segregate education at all levels to the influence of the Broederbond and its "driving determination to promote its cause of an exclusive sectional Afrikaner volk in the country."(16)

The credentials, commitments, and agendas of the holders of key posts at the University in its early formative years must be seen in relation to specific Broederbond views on the future of Indians and their activities, including education. In a document entitled The Future of the Indian Population, it is argued that "In the period exceeding the 100 years they have been in the country, the Indians have become less acceptable, rather than more, to other national groups in respect of possible assimilation. For everybody, except the Indians, repatriation or resettlement in another country remains the most acceptable solution. If that is not possible, then an alternative plan is for a separate geographic home where the present process of physical and political separation can be completed."(17)

In a circular of March 1971 entitled Indian Education in South Africa, the Broederbond argues for the vigorous promotion of Afrikaans in Indian schools, control of the top posts in Indian education to be retained in the hands of 'right-minded whites,' filling of other posts by Indians sympathetic to Government policy, and the Christianisation of the Indian population.(18) Wilkins and Strydom go on to state: "In order to ensure Broederbond authority and overall control as envisaged, the key posts in Indian Education are manned by Broeders. The Director of Indian Education is Mr. Gabriel (Gawie) Krog who serves on the Broederbond Executive. The Rector of the University of Durban-Westville (for Indians) is Professor S.P. Olivier, formerly on the Broederbond Executive, and the Registrar of the University, Mr. Gawie Heystek, is also a Broeder."(19) It is not insignificant that Mr. Krog was a member of the Council of the University of Durban-Westville from 1976 to 1987 as well as Chairman of Council, Professor Olivier retired from the University in 1981, and Mr. Heystek remained as Registrar of the University till his death in 1985.

The political agenda underlying the establishment of the University College for Indians was, clearly, segregated educational socialisation to enable Indian elite formation within the parameters of apartheid policy. The extension, expansion, and improvement of university facilities, the undeniable fact that the university opened up new opportunities for upward social mobility for Indians, were not sufficient to prevent a continued resistance to the segregationist and unjust political agenda. The memory of this original agenda, aided by shifts in state and university policy and their accompanying forms of repression coupled with the fact that there has been no credible discontinuity with the past proclaimed by those presently in charge, underlies many of the continuing eruptions on the campus.

The discrepancy between the positive public legitimations offered for a separate university for Indians and the political agenda of apartheid could not be glossed over. Professor Olivier, in his report of a telephone conversation with Mr. B.J. Vorster, then Deputy Minister for the

Department of Education, Arts, and Science, reveals the patronising and duplicitous nature of the official legitimations. Mr. Vorster is supposed to have indicated that the new institution would give effect to the Government's sincere desire to do everything in its power to provide stability and security for the Indian community in South Africa. The University was intended to accelerate its upward mobility and to act as a catalyst in its development and general acceptance to the other communities in South Africa." (20) Olivier was also fond of emphasizing the significant symbolic meaning for the Indian community that the establishment of the university signified. "The establishment of the University College implied a momentous decision: The scrapping of, in the words of Professor Olivier, 'the century-old policy of repatriation, which had hung like a Sword of Damocles over the heads of the Indian people since their first arrival in Natal in 1860.'" (21)

These public articulations of the political 'generosity' of the state in respect of Indians must be seen in relation to the Broederbond agenda of providing a segregated tertiary education system for subordinated people over which it could exercise more effective ideological control against the background of the need of the apartheid economy for elite and manpower training of black people. (22) Gerwel sums it well in the following way, highlighting especially the fraudulent academic pretensions behind the establishment of such universities. "The ethnic universities were created by Verwoerd. They were a part of the Verwoerdian educational concept of total separation in line with apartheid. The intention of places like UWC was to produce graduates who fitted in with the ideology. But the idea was never to have a good university, or a big university. It was intended to be a third-class place...With some exceptions, the people who manned these ethnic colleges were not the cream of the academic world of South Africa. The colleges were run like state departments. The ethos...was authoritarian and racialistic and the divide between the institutions and students was very wide indeed. There was a sense of the universities having been created by 'them' for 'us.'" (23)

I now take a brief look at some of the different formal phases in the history of the institution and the continuities or discontinuities between the phases as the university developed. From a progressive perspective, one that is committed to the theory and practice of nonracialism and democracy, the absence of a clear statement by university authorities of a radical discontinuity between past and present continues to generate resistance. A central and recurrent feeling among many students, some staff and administrators, and progressive organisations and individuals outside the university is of a university still out of joint with its constituency and its context, more so at a time of deepening crisis. For the moment I will simply indicate some of the most clearly discernible phases in the university's twenty-eight years of existence.

The First Decade

The University started as the University College for Indians in 1961 with 114 students and 88 members of staff, of whom 20 were academics. (24) As at most ethnic colleges, the academic and administrative staff were drawn mostly from the Afrikaans universities or the civil service. The University of South Africa was the examining body for the College (as for all the ethnic university colleges under a provision of the Separate Universities Education Bill of 1957) and would provide the certification for students enrolled at these colleges. Apart from this academic arrangement, the colleges were not to be governed by Unisa in any way. They were to be, within the context of ministerial control, self-administered by their Councils and Senates. Despite the fact that the colleges were for the different black 'groups,' white control was firmly built into the system. The parliamentary select committee, on whose report the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 was largely based, had recommended advisory Councils and Senates in addition to the Councils and Senates of the new colleges. The Councils and Senates were to be

white and the advisory bodies to be black. These segregated bodies were viewed as "The most effective methods of guiding the non-Europeans towards independent and objective thinking".(25)

In the climate of strong opposition to the University college, not many Indians were willing to serve either on the advisory Council or on the staff. Only one Indian lecturer, Mr. C. Ramfol, was appointed in a full-time capacity and there were two Indian part-time lecturers. Mr. Ramfol was later to initiate a brand new academic category--'The first Indian to' when he became "the first Indian to be promoted to a chair in South Africa as well as the first Indian assistant to the Rector."(26) Professor Ramfol, in a comment on taking up the post, sought to separate the academic from the political. "The decision was taken on purely educational and academic grounds. I am not a politician but first and foremost an educationist."(27) Given the political machinations that had led to the establishment of the ethnic colleges and the fact that the state had been responsible for the deliberate and overt politicisation of every sector of life in South Africa, this sentiment, which was to be echoed by others connected with the university, appears naive if not at worst a dilatory tactic to avoid confronting the political and coming to terms with it.

In the decade following the establishment of the university college,(28) the enrollment grew to 1,710 students with over 300 members of staff, 73 percent of whom were white. In addition to the kinds of courses that could be pursued at other universities, in keeping with the ethos of addressing the 'needs' of the Indian community, courses in Oriental Studies, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Hindi were offered. By 1971, 337 degrees and diplomas had been awarded, establishing the educational permanence of the institution with each passing year without quite resolving the issue of its political legitimacy. The university came to be supported gradually by a certain sector of the Indian community that consisted of many businessmen (A.M. Moolla, E.H. Joosub, A.F. Kajee, H. Bodasing, etc.), some of whom later received honorary doctorates from the university. Adam's observation in this regard is pertinent: "Selected parents from the traditional elite are frequently called upon to serve in a consultative capacity and although these are usually highly placed individuals in the community, never having had the opportunity of higher education themselves, they frequently hold antiquated notions concerning it. They, by and large, tend to consider the present generation of youth fortunate in the opportunities afforded to them and tend to be less critical of the establishment."(29)

The first decade ended with the granting of 'academic autonomy' to the college, which conferred on it the status of a university and enabled it to draw up its own syllabi, conduct examinations, and confer its own degrees. After 1971, the Council of the University could also make final the appointments of all staff except in the case of the Rector, Vice-Rector, and Registrars, over which the Minister of Indian Affairs still retained control. The Council still had no jurisdiction over the admission of non-Indian students to the university. Salary scales, travelling, and other allowances at the university college remained racially differentiated. The Medical Aid Scheme was also restricted to whites only. It was clearly the principle of racial differentiation that was important to uphold since the number of Indian staff was small enough to make parity financially tolerable. In 1968 there were, out of a total of 97 lecturers, 22 Indian academics with only one Professor and four senior lecturers among them. Full parity was achieved only in 1979 after eighteen years.

After a decade, government control through the Minister of Indian Affairs, salary, and other types of discrimination(30), control by government-appointed senior administration as well as Council, and an atmosphere marked by a combination of paternalism and authoritarianism (31) were still the dominant features of the institution. The fact that the university provided the opportunity for increasing numbers of Indians to acquire formal education must be seen in

conjunction with the fact that this was occurring in a context that entrenched ethnic identification, that lacked traditional university features like autonomy in a fuller sense and academic freedom, and that was still backed by a political agenda that did not accept the equality of those who studied there.

The attitude of the student body and of student politics was one of continuing rejection. It was still felt that the university was in principle unacceptable as a racially separate institution. Hence, even though it afforded educational opportunities to many Indians, it was felt that nothing should be done to legitimate the university. This meant no activities on the campus outside of lectures. The difficulties encountered with the university authorities in relation to the establishment of an independent Students Representative Council strengthened the noncollaborationist policy. Bhana says the following: "The no-SRC stand was a useful weapon for a body of people who are politically powerless. The policy of noncollaboration was aimed at keeping students informed that the university was part of the apartheid system, designed to produce graduates who would meekly accept subservient roles in the larger South African society." This approach was to continue into the second decade.

The Second Decade

In 1972 the university moved from its first location (former naval barracks on Salisbury Island) to a new campus at Chiltern Hills(32) which, on completion of the first phase in 1973, is estimated to have cost twenty million rands. In 1973 the university was officially opened by Prime Minister B.J. Vorster, who installed as Chancellor a former academic turned National Party senator, O.P.F. Horwood, who was at the time Minister of Indian Affairs. This choice of a National Party politician as Chancellor was a symbolic reminder of--and recommitment to--an apartheid agenda at the very core of the university. This, together with the absence of any substantive restructuring of the university on the part of the university authorities, made it inevitable that resistance would continue in whatever form possible and that national political phenomena like increasing student and worker militancy would find an immediate echo on the campus.

Many of the battles in this decade centered around the issue of establishing a credible Student Representative Council. Unlike at the University of Western Cape, where the appointment of Professor Dick Van Der Ross in 1975 signified a new trajectory, the senior administration maintained its ideological continuity not only into the second decade but into the third as well. In the case of the university, the ideological continuity has also meant that all the senior administrators are white. This is in opposition to the theoretical apartheid requirement of eventual 'Indianisation,' but in keeping with the Broederbond notion of white control of the top positions in segregated educational institutions. In 1981 Oosthuizen included an appendix showing the posts that count as senior administrative positions. These are the Rector, Vice-Rector, Registrar Academic, Registrar Administrative, Head of Campus Planning, Staff Administration and Campus Security, Director of Public Relations, and University Librarian. In 1981 these were all held by whites. In 1989 they are all still held by whites. The degree of ideological cohesion is a little more complex, but no dramatic changes in general ideological orientation are expected given the present structures. This decade saw the abolition of the advisory Council and the establishment of a single Council that included four Indians in 1974, as well as the inclusion of the one Indian head of department on the Senate in 1971.

As far as student admission was concerned, there was continuing representation from several quarters to the government to relax the laws on admission of white students at the black universities and vice versa. In this period the University Council and Senate often called for

changes in the admission policy. But a study of the documents shows this request to be located within the context of restoring 'normality' to a university that was still to be primarily for Indians. Many of the representations that the Council of the college made on different occasions focused, for example, on the question of admission of white students to the university. As far as Coloured and African students were concerned, in 1976 the Council was given the right to finalise admission, though subject to the final decision of the Minister of Indian Affairs. It was only at the end of 1977 that the Council was allowed to admit all non-Indian students including whites. This was subject to the approval of the Minister of Indian Affairs who set conditions pertaining largely to the preservation of the 'essential character of the University as an institution serving the Indian group,' and safeguarding the 'interests' of Indian students at the university.

In 1980 there were seven Africans, thirty five 'Coloureds,' and seventy-six whites enrolled at the university. A Senate Committee proposed to Council in April 1980 that the University should operate under the same legislation applying to the autonomous universities, that the University should be transferred from the Department of Indian Affairs to the Department of National Education, that Council have the final right to decide on admission rather than the Minister of Indian Affairs, and that the university be open to all students. This was to happen in the third decade of the university's existence in April 1983. On the student front, after almost twenty years of struggle, a Student Representative Council came into existence at the end of 1979 on the basis of a constitution acceptable to the student body. This prepared the way for a new phase of student politics that was to have important implications for developments in the eighties.

The third decade

This period marked the beginning of a phase that was significantly and unmistakably to alter the nature of the university.

- An independent SRC had been established, signifying that student resistance had moved beyond a simple rejection of the university to a perception of the campus as an arena of active campaigns to conscientise and mobilise the student body in the struggle against repression and apartheid education.
- The university became autonomous in 1983 and the Council, which now had the power to establish its own policies, decided that students of all races would be admitted to the university. This decision was to have far-reaching consequences for the identity of the university, given its ethnic origins.
- After a long struggle a Council-recognised Combined Staff Association was established in 1987, which committed itself unequivocally to a nonracial and democratic university and society, and which frequently allied itself with the SRC as well as with progressive organisations outside the university.
- Mr. Horwood was replaced as Chancellor by Justice J. Didcott, signalling a massive shift from the symbol of state policy to the symbol of justice.
- A new Council took office in 1988, which is relatively and potentially more progressive than those in the past through having some representatives on it who are committed to nonracism and democracy.
- Dramatic shifts have occurred in the student enrollment patterns, which throw into sharp contradiction the idea of a university primarily for Indians. In 1986 there were 436

Africans who together with 150 'Coloureds' and 218 white students constituted 13.3 percent of the total student population.(33) In 1989, the first-year intake consisted of almost 57 percent African students. Unless there is a political intervention of some kind the student population will become rapidly Africanised.

- It was not only from the perspective of student politics that the university was now perceived as an arena for educational and political struggle, and hence a legitimate place in which to work for progressive people. Especially at the level of academic staff, the internal academic boycott of the university, whereby self-respecting academics from the 'liberal' universities avoided the institution and/or looked down upon those who worked there, began to change. This was also happening around the time that many of the original staff were due to retire and younger, more progressive, people joined the university who identified less or not at all with the original agenda of apartheid and apartheid education. These academics were also more active in pursuing more 'relevant' course content and curricula.
- Due to a great degree of organisational stability and cohesion in the SRC, Comsa, and the Convocation, and, no doubt, also to the severe nature of the crises encountered, there were more frequent instances of cooperation and joint action between staff and students (e.g., in relation to the threat posed by the de Klerk regulations). These joint initiatives were extremely important in the slow process of building an authentic university community that was united in its concern for educational and social justice, a community that had not existed hitherto and that still only exists in an extremely uneven way.

In addition, two Commissions of Enquiry were set up. One of these was by the House of Delegates to enquire into appointments and promotions of staff and associated matters at the university. The findings of the Commission, chaired by Mr. Hassim Mall, an advocate who now serves on the Council, were not made public but indicated the following:

- Many cases of 'prima facie racial considerations' where whites had been privileged over Indians.
- Many cases where the university did not follow prescribed criteria.
- 'Widespread grievance' at the 'abuse of power' of certain heads of departments in respect of appointments and promotions.(34)

Over the years there had been several discussions on the question of the 'Indianisation' of the university, an expectation generated in certain sectors of the Indian community by the ostensible logic of apartheid education. It must not be forgotten that it was the House of Delegates that had set up the Commission of Enquiry, an institution that was itself operating on the acceptance of the distinction between general affairs and own affairs of the tricameral system and the subsequent acceptance of education as an 'own affairs' area. Despite the fact that the findings highlighted discrepancies and possible injustices in staffing, it is not clear whether the agenda of the House of Delegates did not include playing up to a sense of grievance among Indian staff instead of a more general concern about the university as a whole. The entry of the House of Delegates onto the scene at an ostensibly autonomous university introduced an interesting complication in the question of who controlled the university.

It is also not clear whether any kind of 'deal' was struck between the state and its 'junior' partners in the tricameral system. The findings were not publicised and, apart from some

warnings by Mr. Rajbansi to the university to put its house in order, the matter seems to have fizzled out. The same, one hopes, will not be the fate of another Commission of Enquiry, established by the Council in 1988 under the chairmanship of Advocate Hurt, to investigate tensions and disturbances on the campus, including the death of a UDW student on a sports tour to the University of the Witwatersrand. The commission concluded hearing evidence at the end of last year. The University Council has still to take a position on the findings of the commission.

In this third decade of the history of the university, it becomes quite clear that it is developing in a manner that, in several respects, has gone well beyond the original constraints imposed by its political founding fathers, and that frequently challenges the vision or lack thereof of the present authorities. The dramatic alteration of trajectory that was initiated by van der Ross and Gerwel at UWC has not occurred at UDW. From 1975 to the present, UWC has had the opportunity to discuss openly and to concretise an alternative vision. Given the acuteness of the crisis in South African society as a whole, this process at UWC has not gone without problems. But the University has had a head start in the opening up, by credible and authoritative people at the top, of a space for the debates and initiatives that are indispensable in the transformation of an apartheid product into a progressive institution.

The situation at UDW has been different. The administrative leadership, in whose hands a great deal of real power is vested, cannot be described as belonging to the mainstream of progressive thinking. There have been occasional proclamations from the top concerning the changed nature and status of the university; e.g., in a letter to the Financial Mail, 17 July 1987, p. 21, Professor Smout, Vice-Rector (Development) states the following:

I...must ask that you do not refer to Durban-Westville as an 'Indian University'. It is true that Durban-Westville was set up to serve the interest of Indian South Africans, but much has changed in South African universities since then (1961).

Previously a state institution, Durban-Westville gained its autonomy in April 1983 and the University Council has on several occasions since then made it clear that "we admit students and appoint staff on the basis of merit alone. Persons applying to come to UDW as students are not asked to state their racial group. We like to think of our campus as nonracial (as opposed to multiracial) and therefore do not make an issue of the proportions of each race group on campus. Suffice it to say it increasingly reflects that of the region and country which the university serves."

A letter from the Comsa in response to this letter attempted to add an important perspective to this depiction of the University as a merit-based nonracial institution. Given the long history of inequities in education, Comsa asks if strategies such as affirmative action are not urgently needed in order to redress these inequities and whether, at a time when larger numbers of African students are enrolling, the 'merit alone' policy is an abdication of the social responsibility of the UDW at this critical juncture in its history. Clearly, it is important to uphold the ideals of a nonracial society and, insofar as the senior administration attempts to do that, it is laudable. However, the resort to nonracialism as part of one's self-description without the accompanying initiatives to restructure and reorient the university to suit the demographic realities of the area that it serves, would indicate that the shift from an "Indian" university to a nonracial university has been only at the level of rhetoric.

Besides, being a nonracial campus in relation to admissions is only one aspect of the general ethos needed to be a university that is recognised as attempting to respond appropriately to the academic and political crises that confront the university community. There have been many

occasions, especially in the last few years, where the administration's response to and/or handling of such crises has been perceived as being less than satisfactory. In one instance in August 1988 when the university deregistered 181 students who had not paid their fees, which led to the threat of a boycott as well as police violence on the campus, a resolution was passed at a meeting of some 400 members of staff asking the Council to investigate the 'apparent paralysis of the Senior Management of the University in dealing effectively with the current crisis, and, if necessary, to address the issue of restructuring the Senior Management.' Students had been making more extreme negative evaluations of the administration over many years. This was the first time that the staff took such an openly critical resolution. The occasion was, however, a glaring example of a crisis where members of staff, especially the executive of Comsa, had to intervene to defuse the tensions on campus without the support, assistance, or approval of the administration. It is often felt that a narrow rule-boundedness and insufficiently critical acceptance of state injunctions leads administrators to proclaim, for example, that protesting police presence is pointless since the State of Emergency allows the police to act on their own terms. The days of senior administrators marching with students or showing a strong disapproving presence when the police and military came onto campus are still to come.

Despite the fact that there has been no dramatic restructuring of key administrative personnel either as a concession to 'Indianisation' or as a result of the pressure for a more progressive official position, different sectors of the university community have not simply acquiesced to the vision and agenda provided from the top. There have been struggles of different kinds going on right from the beginning. UWC has had the advantage of having the space, since 1975, to engage in a radical self-evaluation of its nature and role, in engaging in debates about democratisation, people's education, community outreach, etc., and in implementing progressive initiatives.

The struggle for a progressive identity at UDW has followed a different trajectory. Since there has been so little space and opportunity for debate, at the level of the students, sheer resistance to university and state regulations in the form of boycotts, stayaways, marches, and mass meetings have very often been the only medium of opposition. The authoritarian intellectual culture generated at the ethnic campuses has meant that debate and discussion, as conventional academic ways of dealing with conflicts of opinion, have tended to be marginal values at these universities.

One of the aspects of the struggle in the sixties and seventies to establish an independent SRC at UDW was the right to invite speakers of their own choice to the campus. As recently as August 1987, the Council turned down a Senate request that heads of departments be allowed to arrange guest lecturers without first informing the university management. Without wanting to romanticise or make excuses for campus unrest, resistance to the overt and covert mechanisms of domination operating at the University was and is necessary and perhaps inevitable given the inherent contradictions of apartheid policy. And, as at UWC(35), the struggle to distance the institution from the ideology underlying apartheid education and orient it, force it even, in another direction more appropriate to the needs of the students it was to serve, was initiated by student activism. Later this was to be supported by individuals and groups of individuals among the staff as well as by Comsa, Convocation, etc.

I would like to return to the two images that I mentioned earlier on, which often determine perceptions of the UDW--of a cowed campus controlled by the forces of reaction where everyone especially staff submit meekly to administrative and state control and, on the other hand, of a campus plagued by boycotts, violence, and thereby producing academic shoddiness. The first image is belied by a long history of resistance and struggle, which began with the

announcement of the establishment of a university for Indians and which was continued by students and staff at different times and in different ways as well as jointly. The second image must be located within the context of a close analysis of all the factors at work, including apparently insensitive administrative decisions and provocative state action whenever there were campus eruptions.

I would like to deal briefly with two incidents in the last year that put these images into some perspective for an outsider looking in:

The first deals with the question of the university's response to the de Klerk regulations in October 1987. University assemblies, protest marches, advertisements, and public condemnations of the regulations (which would have required universities to report all disruptions on campuses or else have their state subsidies withdrawn) characterised the responses of Natal, Wits, Rhodes, UCT, and UWC. These responses also reflect the consensus of administrators, staff, and students at these universities against the regulations. The UDW response, which was described as 'luke-warm'(36) or not hardline enough in the press was, in fact, a heartening example of joint action by progressive groupings on the campus that made a stand against the regulations as well as the university administration's indeed 'luke-warm' response. This stand, though not publicised adequately, demonstrated the commitment of sectors of the UDW community to be part of the struggle against apartheid being conducted by the four 'open' universities and UWC.

The stand also demonstrated the willingness of those sectors to take a public stand against the position of the senior administration. The campus newspaper Varsity Voice reported as follows in its November 1987 issue:

In a statement to Varsity Voice, the Rectorate says: 'Because of certain delicate negotiations, the Rector does not wish to be associated with any form of public protest or statement at this stage.'

However, the university's student and academic community has been quick to react to the State's new hardline conditions. More than 1,000 students and academics gathered for a hastily-convened protest meeting on campus last month in spite of the Rector's decision not to attend and his order forbidding both Vice-Rectors from attending as well.

A resolution condemning the new regulations was passed unanimously and recorded, among other things, 'our total and unequivocal rejection of this unwarranted interference by the Government in university affairs.' The meeting agreed to pursue efforts to have the new conditions rejected by the University and withdrawn by the Government. The resolution also noted that 'despite the seriousness of the situation and the response from the universities, neither the Council, nor the Vice-Chancellor has as yet publicly expressed total and unequivocal rejection of the conditions.'

In addition to the University assembly, the Senate of the University also condemned the regulations despite the strong feeling of the Rector against the resolution. The Comsa, in a newspaper advertisement, also indicated its total rejection of the regulations as well as called upon the Council and Vice-Chancellor to express their public condemnation. This response to the de Klerk regulations clearly indicates the differentiated nature of the UDW community and shows that the nature of struggles is determined by the contexts and constraints peculiar to those struggles. Naturally, in the light of the larger national and international context within which the rest of the de Klerk resistance was occurring, the nature of the struggle at UDW appears unspectacular and perhaps even minor. For UDW, however, it was a momentous political and

academic gesture, one of an increasing number that breaks down the image of the bush college that did not grow up.

The second incident deals with an academic issue that became quickly transformed into a political crisis. In August 1988, 181 students were deregistered by the university because they were unable to pay their fees. The student body demanded the reinstatement of the students and threatened a boycott. On attempting to meet to reassess the situation, students were beaten up and tear-gassed by police in what appeared to be an unprovoked attack. The Rector declined to negotiate with the police on campus, although he was requested to do so by 55 members of staff who had gone down to his office. Comsa members and some of the Deans intervened to defuse the tensions on the campus and prevent further violence, and eventually the students were reinstated.

In March, also this year, another crisis of a similar nature involving late registration was averted again on the intervention of Comsa members and some of the Deans. What these incidents demonstrate is that academic issues like registration of students rapidly become political struggles due to the apparent inflexibility of the administration and/or police intervention that, since the imposition of the State of Emergency, seems to happen with greater impunity. No doubt there are politically undisciplined students as well as provocateurs who attempt to fuel incidents like the above. This must not detract from the fact that, in many instances, the University authorities resist recognising and responding to the structurally impoverished conditions within which increasing numbers of our students are located. The debacle over registration proves this and shows also the desperate measures to which students resort in order to complete their education. The perceived intransigence of university authorities leaves students with the impression that only a boycott or protest will bring the gains that they seek and, in many instances, injustices have been redressed or at least investigated as a result of student dissent and activism.

In the three decades of the history of UDW, there have been changing approaches to the University both from the point of view of those who were in charge as well as those who studied and worked there. These changes also reflected the shifts in the national political scene, both in respect of the modernisation of apartheid and in the strategies of resistance to domination. As far as the University authorities are concerned, an analysis of the three decades reveals a shift from a commitment to an overt ethnic ideology to a more technicist/managerial concept of the University. The latter, far from diminishing the effects of ideological control and authoritarianism, may actually serve ideological purposes better through its ostensibly neutral and apolitical image.

Concerning the other side of the dialectic, students and staff who resisted the political agenda of the separate university in the three decades, also saw a shift in approach. The first decade, and a greater part of the second, were characterised by a noncollaborationist approach. This approach for almost 20 years took its cue from the total noncooperation resolution taken at the 1960 conference mentioned at the beginning of this paper. With the establishment of an independent SRC in 1981 came the shift to a view that the university's ethos could be resisted as well as transformed through organising on the campus. With the rapid increase in the number of African students in the late eighties, the contradictions at the University have become intensified.

For the student body, the longstanding value commitment to a nonracial society and education must now be concretised in practice in the face of all the complexities of building nonracial unity among people whose primary socialisation has been suspicion of and prejudice against the other. For the authorities, the gap between proclaiming a merit-based nonracial campus and having to address the needs of a structurally-impooverished student community seems

unbridgeable. There is a minimal academic support programme at the University. The University does not yet have a mission statement. The university is, to put it very kindly, in a very fluid situation at the moment.

Nevertheless, from the point of this conference, there is a great deal going on in certain sectors that must be recognised and supported whenever possible. UWC has captured the media market on "bush college turned intellectual home of the left." The debates about where UDW should be going are only beginning now among certain sectors of the University community. Questions of social function (elite production or mass education?), identity (Indian, African or South African?), standards and academic excellence, relevance, etc., are now perceived as being in need of critical reflection. People are concerned about what is worth conserving of the past and about the nature of the intellectual culture that is struggling to emerge. They are concerned also about theorising a nonconflicting relationship between national socio-political priorities on the one hand and maintaining some core principles about what constitutes a university on the other.

For many years it was necessary to resist, struggle against, and challenge that which was there. Circumstances are now forcing people to engage in the more creative and reconstructive task of conceptualising the nature of the university that we would like to have or ought to have. Interestingly enough, there is a return to a notion that resembles the early legitimisation for the establishment of ethnic universities--the idea that education should be rooted in the community that it serves. The link between university and community is now actively sought, of course with the idea of the 'community' having to undergo a substantive transformation.

Universities, like all institutions in this society that are undergoing the trauma of change, are complex places, neither homogeneously progressive nor homogeneously reactionary. There is also no homogenous progressive position by which all institutions are to be measured. Each university and its struggles must be viewed in terms of its own history, context, and dynamics. From a donor's point of view, it is important to investigate and identify the progressive sectors on different campuses with whom contact could be made, information gathered, and initiatives established. This would have the effect of supporting these sectors in the specific struggles which they have to wage. It is too easy an option as well as being educationally and politically inadequate to support initiatives only at the so-called "open" universities and at UWC. Many of the black campuses are in deep crisis, but if one wishes to reach a significant number of black students and staff, the noncollaboration option has to be rethought, as it was by constituencies who were forced to study and work at these places. The responsibility of South Africans who convey information about the university situation to people outside is to present a unified view (which takes its cue from the commitment to democracy and nonracialism), but not an oversimplified one that glosses over the many specific struggles that are all part of the journey towards transformation.

Notes

- 1.) G.C. Oosthuizen et al (eds.): Challenge to a South African University, p. 13.
- 2.) Op. Cit., p. 13.
- 3.) Quoted in The Right to Learn (SACHED publication), p. 93.
- 4.) See S. Bhana's 'The Racial Factor in Indian University Education' in The Future of the University in Southern Africa, ed. by H.W. van der Merwe and D. Welsh, pp. 213-215.

- 5.) See Chapter 9 of The Right to Learn for a brief survey of resistance to black education schemes that predate as well as come after the watershed time of June 1976.
- 6.) Bhana, op. cit., p. 218.
- 7.) Oosthuizen, op. cit., p. 35.
- 8.) Bhana, op. cit., p. 218.
- 9.) Ibid., p. 218
- 10.) Ibid., p. 218.
- 11.) Oosthuizen, op. cit., p. 35
- 12.) Ibid., p. 35.
- 13.) Ibid., p. 35.
- 14.) I. Wilkins and H. Strydom: 'The Super-Afrikaners,' p. 1.
- 15.) Ibid., p. 2.
- 16.) Ibid., p. 250.
- 17.) Ibid., p. 154.
- 18.) Ibid., pp. 155-156.
- 19.) Ibid., pp. 157-158.
- 20.) Oosthuizen, op. cit., p. 32.
- 21.) Ibid., p. 32. See also Bhana, p. 223, footnote 1.
- 22.) See K. Adam's 'Dialectic of Higher Education for the Colonized: The Case of Non-White Universities in South Africa' in South Africa: Sociological Perspectives, edited by H. Adam for a discussion of possible reasons for providing education for blacks and how these are appropriate if not necessary to the interests of the system.
- 23.) Hugh Robertson: 'Profile of Jakes Gerwel' in Optima, Vol. 134, No. 4, Dec. 1986, p. 190. See N. Gwala's 'State Control, Student Politics and Black Universities in Popular Struggles in South Africa' ed. by W. Cobbett and R. Cohen, for a discussion of the educational 'success' of Bantu Education in suppressing critical skills, pp. 171-172.
- 24.) Oosthuizen, op. cit., p. 205.
- 25.) Bhana, op. cit., p. 216. Bhana points out that, at the University College for Indians, the advisory Council was appointed only in November 1987 and the advisory Senate was never instituted. Even after the college received university status in 1969 the advisory Council was seen by the Minister of Indian Affairs as a useful institution and it was only in 1973

that provision was made for the scrapping of the advisory bodies. Two of the Indians who served on the advisory Council, Mr. A.M. Moolla and Mr. J.B. Patel, seemed to have acknowledged the tokenist and marginal nature of the body.

- 26.) Oosthuizen, p. 37.
- 27.) Ibid., p. 37.
- 28.) In this period, larger numbers of Indian students were continuing to enroll at the formerly 'open' universities and at UNISA than at the University College. In 1970 there was a total of 1800 Indian students at Natal, UCT, Wits, Rhodes and UNISA in comparison with 1642 at the University College. See Oosthuizen, p. 71.
- 29.) Adam, op. cit., p. 204.
- 30.) A particularly damaging example of sexist discrimination, which continued into the second and part of the third decade, was the fact that married women (of all races) were not able to get tenure at the University and, apart from psychological insecurity, lost out on a number of benefits like pensions, study leave, etc.
- 31.) Examples of this ranges from rigidly enforced dress rules for students and staff to a clamp down on matters considered political; e.g., denial of permission to students to invite speakers like Alan Paton on to the campus. See Adam, p. 202 and Oosthuizen, p. 51.
- 32.) An interesting observation on the new location is found in Oosthuizen, p. 53: "Of all the possible sites, the Group Areas Council preferred Chiltern Hills at it bordered on other Indian areas..."
- 33.) Race Relations Survey 1986, part 2, pp. 465-466.
- 34.) Ibid. pp. 466-467.
- 35.) Jakes Gerwel in his inaugural address as Vice-Chancellor of UWC, 5 June 1987.
- 36.) See for example South, Nov. 5-11, p. 9

Persistent Problems at Tertiary Level: Some Possible Solutions Developing at the University of the Western Cape

Professor Merlyn C. Mehl and Professor G. Jakes Gerwel

Some Indicative Statistics

To give some idea of the growth of the University over the decade of the eighties, consider the number of students enrolled (Table 1) and the number of degrees awarded (Table 2).

Table 1: Number of Students Enrolled

	1980	1985	1989
A. Students Enrolled	4,153	7,701	11,064
B. African Students	53	136	1,750

C. Distribution of Faculties (numbers of African students in parentheses)

Arts	(21)	2,634	(52)	4,398	(1,012)	5,778
Economics	(9)	353	(21)	760	(188)	1,079
Education		299	(2)	619	(42)	1,225
Dentistry	(12)	120		189	(3)	183
Law	(12)	136	(31)	498	(129)	546
Theology		127		185	(16)	181
Community & Health					(157)	787
Science	(11)	484		1,052	(203)	1,285

Table 2: Degrees Awarded

	1980	1985	1988
Arts	281	544	543
Economics	20	65	67
Education	25	87	104
Dentistry	14	16	16
Law	7	30	52
Theology	8	25	820
Community & Health			96
Science	41	85	107

We are looking here at a university that has more than doubled in size over the decade of the eighties. Indeed, in real terms, the growth in student numbers is some 266 percent over this period.

The following details may also be given of bursary allocation for students in 1988 (Table 3). During 1988, the total enrollment of student was 10,592, of which 8,470 were registered full-time.

Table 3: Bursaries to Full-Time Students, 1988

	Total Amount	Number of Students
All state and semi-state bursaries	16,287,938	4,606
Bursaries administered by the UWC Bursary Committee (including embassies and international donors)	1,410,930	735
Other bursaries (private sector agencies, etc.)	1,758,929	2,101
Loans allocated by University Bursary Committee	420,000	424
	19,877,797	7,866

According to Table 3, approximately 54 percent of the full-time students rely on a state bursary, which leads inevitably to the majority of students' becoming teachers. The University

itself could only secure bursaries for less than ten percent of its total full-time student body.

The estimated total of students for the current academic year will be close to 12,000. The Department of Education and Training (black education) has already decided not to award any bursaries to new African students, whilst the Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives (so-called coloured education) has decided to limit the number of bursaries to new students and, at the same time, not to increase the amount of the bursaries in line with the escalating university costs.

The university's subsidy from the state has also been cut by 52 percent (about R45 million), which means that the University will be in no position to assist students with substantial bursaries or even loans.

Clearly, these statistics present a picture of a university bursting at the seams, but strapped financially and unable simply to hand out money to students easily. It is, therefore, instructive to consider the kinds of innovations that are developing at the University of the Western Cape.

Student Financial Support

Before one can speak of categories or, indeed, criteria for funding, the philosophy of student funding needs to be given consideration. Once such a philosophy has been established, it then makes sense to look at both the categories of those who should be funded and the means by which funding could take place. It would then follow that criteria for funding could emerge relatively simply.

It is important to establish some type of target figure for the present year. The amount of R4.5 million has been suggested as a possible amount, since this was the shortfall in the University's collection of student fees in 1988. This figure, while representing the total amount owed by students, is not necessarily the total amount of money that students required and thus needs to be considered as a realistic amount only in the most tentative sense. Furthermore, it is important not to assume that this money would be utilized in the typical bursary hand-out fashion.

The Philosophy of Funding

In determining the way in which student assistance should occur, the following five principles are presently being given consideration and discussion on campus:

- The need to move away from the idea of bursaries to that of financial assistance;
- The typical bursary modus as being a simple hand-out needs to be minimized, if not entirely eliminated;
- The money acquired for bursaries should be used in a generative way; i.e., it should be used to generate student income by meaningful service or employment rather than simply being given to students;
- Financial assistance involves a dynamic interaction of a number of agencies within the University community to make the principle of financial assistance a viable and workable one;
- The principle of student financial support linked to work on- and off-campus is one that

needs to be negotiated with the student body.

These principles are given as a basis for discussion and are being modified, eliminated, or enhanced through the various channels with the university community.

Categories of Financial Assistance

The whole question of financial assistance needs to be looked at in two ways:

- Students requiring financial assistance; and
- The various ways in which financial assistance can be given in harmony with the principles established above under "philosophy."

We will consider these independently:

The Categories of Students Requiring Financial Assistance

The statistics available suggest that around 50 percent of all students receive state bursaries. This would imply that the other 50 percent either have the money or obtain financial assistance in some other way. It needs to be remembered, however, in thinking of state support for students, that in order to gain such support many students are forced into careers (e.g., teaching) that they would not necessarily choose for themselves or for which they are not necessarily suited. So if other channels of financial assistance can be found, the percentage that receives state bursaries could actually be reduced, making it possible for students to go in alternate directions.

In thinking of those who require financial assistance, it is clear that some means of assessing the real needs of students will have to be devised, if one does not already exist. We are reminded of the student who managed to raise R45,000 in one year from various bursary agencies. While the notion of a means test might be anathema, it is certainly a point of departure worth considering, as is the notion of all monies being distributed through some common administrative procedure (utilizing a computer, for example).

Categories of Financial Support

There is a real need to consider the way in which an amount of capital could be used to generate further capital and hence maximise the number of students that could be assisted in one way or another. Various categories suggest themselves. It must be remembered that these proposals are designed to increase dramatically the numbers of students who can be assisted through tertiary education.

The Straight Bursary Handout. It is clear that certain multinationals and other with specific manpower needs will continue to fund persons in particular categories. For example, various banks will continue to give bursaries for talented students in computer science and other targeted occupations. This need not necessarily be discouraged. However, there is need to find a way of interacting constructively with employers, again, to maximise their monetary contributions to the University. For example, if it were possible, by way of illustration, for Old Mutual to employ good student bursars during vacation times, or whenever, they might be able to give a lower bursary to the student directly and give the rest of the money into a financial assistance pool for

students in general. There are other advantages that could accrue from such a situation, as, for example, placing the student in a kind of academic support situation in the firm, which could enhance the students' academic achievement. This, of course, needs to be discussed on other levels.

Utilization of Existing University Funds.

- Academic Utilisation:

There are various categories available under the state's subsidy to universities, for the employment of students in assistantships, etc., within the university structure. This money is possibly not optimally utilised at present. For example, the idea of teaching assistantships (TAs) is one that is currently used very widely, especially in American universities, but one that has not gained any credence at UWC, simply because it has never been attempted. The principle on which these TAs work is that the student is employed within the department to tutor or assist in laboratories, or whatever, and some of his/her fees are then taken off against that tutorship. To continue to be an incentive for students to work, however, it would be necessary to pay them directly and simply deduct all monies earned as fees (perhaps at some rate lower than the rate that they could possibly earn if they were paid all the money, with the balance then going directly into the university funds against their student fees.) Again, that is something that would need to be considered and is given here as a possibility, and not in a prescriptive way.

- Nonacademic Assistantships

A careful analysis needs to be made of the present university structure and the persons employed within that structure. Thus, for example, university functions that require catering, etc., could easily employ student assistants in some or other capacity. This would also be true in other functions at the university, such as the cafeteria, the bookstore, etc. It would be a matter of analyzing where such possibilities existed. There would also be a need to discuss these issues with the workers' unions.

- Work with Community Organizations

There is a great need to strengthen the infrastructure within community organisations. Donors could be asked to contribute toward the community organisation in a sense of establishing a student bursary within that organisation. This money, paid directly to the university, could be off-set by student employment within various organisations. This, again, needs to be negotiated with community organisations and the student body, but it is a way in which students would be able to work meaningfully while at the same time studying.

It needs to be added, obviously, that work as outlined above should not dominate the students' time to such an extent that study time suffers. Thus, for example, average work week maximums could be established with flexibility to take into account examinations, etc.

Means of Finding Work For Students. It is generally accepted practice overseas that university bureaux for financial support for students are also centres that find work for students in the community around the university. This is not done in any organised way at UWC and yet is a practice at other universities, certainly those in the Western Cape. A bureau of financial assistance would have as its first task finding student jobs over weekends. Again, a means would need to be found whereby some of what the student earns is channeled directly into the university funds against student fees or whatever. This situation too needs to be negotiated very carefully

with students and the SRC.

Small Business. The Small Business Institute on the university campus could be used to establish student work possibilities in various enterprises, both on and off the campus. For example, at some universities there is a flourishing business in T-shirts, which apparently accrues considerable revenue to those involved and does not take up a disproportionately high percentage of student time for the financial returns that it brings. There are many such possibilities, both within and without the university. For instance, in the university hostels, students could run a tuck-shop on a profit-sharing (between students and university) basis. A willingness on the part of students to work within these enterprises, set up in some way with university cooperation, could do much to find meaningful work for many people and generate a pool of money for student financial assistance.

Work with Sponsoring Companies. This has been mentioned above in connection with bursaries by specific firms, but is worthwhile taking up in a general way here. Sponsoring companies could assist students by giving them meaningful work within their structure. This could do much to generate a corporate ethos that is more relevant to the needs of the community than that presently prevailing. This is, again, a way of maximising the number of persons who could be helped with the same amount of money.

The above list is neither definitive nor exhaustive. Neither is it intended to be such, but is merely given as the basis for generating discussion around alternative options with regard to bursaries/financial assistance for students. Rather than the necessarily specific suggestions made, the intent of this exercise should be understood: Many more students need to be helped than our present resources allow. The arithmetic of the problem is simple. If we receive R100,000 in bursary funding, assuming that each student needs R5,000, we are able to help just 20 students--a drop in the UWC ocean. What this proposal attempts to do is to make R100,000 a generative pool that could help many more students than the 20 who are fortunate enough to be in line and chosen by some or other established academic criteria.

Criteria

It is clear from the above options that criteria suggest themselves by means of which students can be assisted. The first--and obvious--criterion would be a willingness on the part of a particular student to fit into the paradigm suggested above. However, the issue of criteria underscores the need for a cooperative interaction between various agencies on the university campus. The administration, the student body as represented by the SRC, and other agencies would need to be involved in democratically establishing criteria for assistance.

The intent of this proposal is to establish creative options, but is also to involve the greatest number of people in a more democratic apportioning of the small pool of available funds.

Establishing Admission Criteria for UWC

There is a clear need to establish admission criteria for UWC. With the university committed to 14,000 Full-time Equivalents (FTEs) and with this number rapidly being reached, it is obviously essential that a means be worked out of determining more accurately than at present students' ability to succeed at university. This is important not only for the university, but also for the student since it is unfair to both parties to accept students who have little or no chance of success. It has been amply demonstrated by research both on our campus and elsewhere that a poor matric symbol as an absolute reference point for success or failure at university has a very

poor predictive value in the case of disadvantaged students. Clearly a more reliable measure is required than straight matric results. The university thus needs to embark on a carefully developed programme that incorporates research and practical implementation to ensure an admissions policy that is fair and defensible.

Another Look at The Matric Symbol

We have become used to saying at UWC that matric is no predictor of students' likelihood of success at university. This unqualified statement is, of course, patently false. Obviously, a student from a disadvantaged background who nevertheless manages to score an 'A' symbol on the matric final examination with high symbols in languages and mathematics, clearly has potential. In this case the matric symbol is probably a fair predictor of the likelihood of that person's success. It indicates that in spite of the obvious disadvantages that that person might have had to cope with, he/she is still able to succeed. If nothing else, it shows determination and the capacity to work hard, both of which are, of course, vital attributes for success at university. But, obviously, it indicates even more in terms of latent potential. Thus while it can be said on the basis of research conducted that a poor matric symbol does not necessarily indicate a lack of potential to succeed at university, it is reasonable to assume that a good matric symbol achieved by disadvantaged students is probably a very good predictor of the students' likelihood to succeed at university.

The problem with the use of the matric symbol is that it is used as an absolute measure. This means that children, regardless of background, compete nationally on the strength of their matric symbols. Given the obvious discrepancies in schooling, etc., it is clear that, viewed this way, the poor matric symbol proves very little. If, however, this symbol is used as a relative rather than an absolute measure, it does represent a point of departure for assessing students' chances of success at university.

The basis for this distinction rests on the fact that, within schools, teachers over the period children are there (usually five years) develop a very clear picture of student potential. Thus, for example, within a particular class, teachers and indeed the pupils themselves are able to tell you who are the "clever" children in that class. The class is usually well able to tell who would be those who would go on to university. Put another way, if the matric symbol were a relative measure within a particular school, then it will have far greater predictive value than as an absolute symbol as presently used. The generality of the measure is then reduced by making their own particular school the common denominator for all children aspiring to enter university. Both in terms of background and other aspects of disadvantage, a particular school will have a high degree of commonality for children in that area.

This, of course, still does not answer the problem of the child of real potential who does not perform well even at school. There is need for further research/development to determine how to unlock this potential. But given the fact that universities are some way off from developing the potential even of those who do indicate it via a relative measure such as that being proposed here, this even more problematic issue will need to be placed on the back-burner for a while.

The way this notion is operationalised would be to determine where a particular child is placed in relation to other children at that school. If, for example, an applicant for entrance to university were placed in the bottom five percent of the matric class at a particular school, it is extremely unlikely that the child would suddenly flower at university. On the other hand, if the child were in the top five percent of the particular school, it is more than likely that he/she would

have a good chance of success at university. However, if he/she were compared with the top five percent at a different school, the child might be viewed as very good material. Thus, instead of evaluations being made across schools, it would be necessary to determine what percentage of a particular school would be likely to succeed at university. Thus it might be possible with reasonable certainty to say that the top X percent of school A would have likelihood of success while the top Y percent of school B might be equally likely to succeed. It would thus be possible to institute an affirmative action programme on admission by looking at various schools in the light of other criteria that the university would like to establish, but still keep the responsibility of admission that of the university rather than leaving it to pulling numbers out of the general matriculation hat.

The Research Study

To test the above hypothesis, it would first be necessary to identify those first-year students who passed in 1988 and are now second-years in 1989, as well as those third-years who were admitted to the university in some previous year. Their progress can then be determined in the light of their placement within the particular school from which they came. Thus, for example, consider second-year students this year. The profiles of present second-year students needs to be drawn. From the registration form, it is possible to obtain both the school that the each student came from as well as the matric symbols that each achieved. If possible, this study should also include first-years who did not succeed at the end of last year. The study would then analyse these students in terms of their school background and relative placement in their own school.

The researcher would first have to draw up a list of names by schools (for economy of purpose and to facilitate easy data-gathering, it might be necessary at this stage to limit this to schools in the Western Cape for easier access). The researcher would then need to obtain these students' records from the schools, perhaps determining both Standard 9 and 10 records of each student. The placement of the student within the matric class of his/her school would then need to be established. The analysis would thus be done from school-to-school so that a school profile as well as a relative student profile is determined. The purpose of this research is to establish, if possible, the lowest percentile student from a particular school who has the chance of success at UWC. The hypothesis that is being tested is that it is possible to determine the likelihood of students' success at university from their relative placement within their own schools.

What the Results May Indicate

Let us, for argument's sake, suppose that the above statistical profile of a particular school is possible and that it is possible on the strength of this research to say that the top Z percent of a particular school is likely to be successful at UWC (not necessarily in the minimum time required - the three years for a first degree - but finally successful). On the basis of these results, it would then be possible to indicate to schools on the strength of their Standard 9 and preliminary Standard 10 results that UWC could take a particular number of students. If then UWC receives X number of applications from school A, an analysis of the placement of students at that school would enable a decision to be made as early as October of a year on the number of the X applications that could be accepted. These students could be informed in November or December that they are accepted to UWC, subject to their receiving a matric exemption (for statutory purposes), regardless of what other matric symbols they achieved.

It would also be possible to identify those students in particular need of various compensatory/remedial actions. These students could be accepted subject to their enrolling for

such as a part of their programme.

Requirements

For the necessary data to be accumulated to determine the validity of this proposal, the following research needs to be done:

Stage 1:

Lists from the Computer Centre of all successful and unsuccessful first-year students from 1988;

Lists of all successful second-year students in 1988;

Lists of all successful third-year students in 1988;

For all the above three categories, the schools of the students and their matric symbols would need to be given. Needless to say, this analysis would be done across faculties.

Stage 2:

Categorising all these students into various schools.

Stage 3:

Visiting each of these schools (or at least those in the Western Cape, if this were taken as the data sample for reasons of practicality) to obtain total student records for Standards 9 and 10 for the particular years in which students on our lists were at the schools. The need for total student lists is apparent when one considers that we are looking at the symbols of these students as a relative measure, rather than an absolute measure. We are thus attempting to place a student within his/her class. At this stage it would be necessary to determine how microscopic this analysis will be. For example, will it be possible to deal only with the gross symbol of the person (i.e., to look at their particular class average only), or will it be necessary to look at subject distribution?

Stage 4:

Developing school profiles on the strength of this data. Attempts would then be made to place UWC students on the basis of the percentile from each school that has been successful at UWC.

It is suggested that a person with the requisite statistical and research skills be appointed to do the preliminary analysis and that the amount of data collected and the results obtained be analysed at the end of three months to see whether this contract should be extended for further data collection and analysis.

In assessing the above proposal, it needs to be remembered that at present the only easily available measure that we have of academic potential is each student's school results. Using this as a relative (within a particular school) rather than an absolute (across schools) measure, may assist in developing something more reliable than our present criteria.

Teaching and Learning at the Tertiary Level

Over the last ten years, some definitive characteristics have emerged concerning the optimum teaching and learning environment required for success at tertiary level by the kinds of students who form the UWC population. This does not imply that an exhaustive theory of instruction has been developed. Rather it is becoming possible to describe those features that must be present if student achievement is to be enhanced. Two major aspects are itemized below without significant elaboration.

The Development of Thinking Skills. It has become very clear from research conducted at UWC in both the natural and economic sciences that the dramatic academic difficulties that students experience with these disciplines are not simply ascribable to "poor school preparation." Rather there often appears to be a significant mismatch between the thinking skills students display and those required by the discipline. Developing the requisite cognitive skills in the learner as part of the process of content-mastery has been shown (at UWC) to improve dramatically the results obtained by students. Indeed, failing grades have been changed into passing grades by this measure.

A Constructivist Approach to Learning. In recent times, the notion that learners need to be active constructors rather than passive recipients of knowledge has gained more credence. Much research has shown that when students are obliged to be involved in learning, significant gains are made over the more passive lecture mode.

The UWC's utilisation of computer-based education as part of the instructional process has forcefully demonstrated this contention. In its well-known Outreach Programme in science and mathematics, secondary school students are obliged to work in small groups around computer terminals and to be actively involved in the construction of knowledge. The yearly pass-rate is between 70 and 80 percent for learners in this programme in mathematics and physical science in the matric exam (with national pass rates around 20 percent), a significant testimony to the success of the approach.

Conclusion

What is being presented in this paper are some options and alternatives in the crucial area of tertiary education in South Africa today. No claim of either scientific rigour or infallibility is made for these ideas. They do appear, however, to be worth consideration and further investigation.

Bursaries in South Africa: Factors to Consider in Drafting a Five-year Plan

Neville Alexander

There is clearly no point in wasting the time of this gathering by expounding at length on the kinds of policies bursary-granting organisations are likely to follow in a post-apartheid South Africa. While such an exercise would not be entirely useless, there are simply too many unknown variables to permit of even an approximate prediction. All that we can and should do at present is to try to formulate a strategy based on our knowledge of what is actually happening on the ground, what the potential resources at the disposal of associated bursary-granting organisations are, what our educational and vocational priorities ought to be in consonance with the democratic and egalitarian principles that we hope to be realised in a South Africa beyond apartheid. Only when we have an approximate idea of all of these matters can we consider the best means of implementing the strategies we agree on.

In order to do this, we need to find a transitional or transformational approach based on an understanding of the complex historical and social dynamics in South Africa specifically and in southern Africa more generally. If we are to assist strategists and activists to make the desired impact on the present situation as it is developing, we must try to capture in words the subtlety that characterises the South African reality. In another context, I have used a spatial metaphor that allows us to:

conceive of our task as one in which we are confronted with a dynamic whole in which spaces exist and are continually, albeit slowly and erratically, coming into being. By filling these spaces, we have the power to alter both the dynamic and the direction of the totality that confronts us. Provided it is at all times clear to us that the educational arena is merely one of many such totalities that are themselves dynamically interconnected, we ought to be able to obtain a realistic idea of the possibilities as well as of the limits that educational activities have.

From the record of the Oxford seminar held in September 1988, it is clear that most of the relevant questions and even some of the solutions have suggested themselves. In a few cases, quite elaborate proposals have already been made. What this workshop should try to put together is a plan of action based on all the preceding bi- and multilateral discussions and consultations so that the activities of every actor and potential actor in this particular corner of the educational arena will be informed by the targets and the strategic and tactical elements of such a plan.

This short paper is an attempt to draw together some of the more important thoughts that have been doing the rounds among us and to put in a nutshell some of the more immediately relevant elements of a first five-year plan for bursary-granting organisations operating in or in relation to South Africa at the tertiary level. Such a plan, I believe, could get off the ground in 1991. Two of the indispensable suppositions behind this paper are that our activities are a consciously designed aspect of the liberation process in which our people are engaged and that it is possible, because it is necessary, to bury all destructive divisions so as to facilitate the coordination of all our resources and our efforts.

This latter supposition is itself corollary to a prior supposition; viz., that in the present historical conjuncture in southern Africa, the oppressed people and their allies have the power to initiate alternative thrusts in most of the major arenas of social activity, in spite of the seeming omnipotence of an intensely repressive state. Not only can such thrusts be initiated by the people,

but, in many cases, they can be sustained without being coopted because of a certain parallelism that has come about in the realm of the state and in the realm of civil society. These two realms are frictionally in contact with each other without either of them being in a position to erase each other.

The Need for Research and Data

Out of the record of the Oxford seminar, the need for structured research and reliable data on which to base planning became manifest--so much so that follow-up workshops on South Africa as well as other activities designed to begin the process of meeting this need were suggested. To what extent this has happened I am in no position to say; however, the following data are indispensable if any serious strategising and planning are to be possible:

- The magnitude of direct state provision of funds in the form of scholarships, fellowships, and research grants;
- The magnitude of private-sector provision of funds for the same purposes;
- The magnitude of other (church, community, labour) involvement in this sphere;
- The proportions of each of the above categories in which available funds have been distributed over the past five years as between: men and women; urban and rural candidates; black and white candidates; natural sciences, mathematical sciences, business sciences, social sciences, and humanities; universities, technikons, and training colleges and institutes; undergraduate and postgraduate candidates. (All these categories are here used in the loosest possible sense. Any systematic research would have to be based on carefully refined and defined categories of the kind suggested here.)

If a centralised or coordinated databank containing these and other relevant data could be set up by the end of 1989, then we should be able to get as accurate a picture of the quantitative dimensions and of the dynamic trends of the problem area in which we are attempting to intervene. How (and where) such a databank is to be organised and coordinated (or centralised) is a matter that should be speedily negotiated.

The Determination of Priorities

There is general agreement on what our priorities ought to be in the best of all possible South Africas. However, there is much idealism about as well. Two stark questions have to be answered before we can realistically set our priorities.

To begin with, it is essential to get some macro-economic idea of where South Africa is heading under specified national and international conditions. We need to get together a group of competent South African economists to tell us what the most likely scenarios in the economic sphere are, given certain predictable political developments in the subcontinent and in the world at large. Secondly, we have to ask ourselves whether collectively--as bursary-granting organisations--we are in a position, in the event of any of these scenarios being realised, to influence significantly the profile of the elite/educated layer over a five-to-ten year period and, if so, to what extent we would be able to do in consonance with economic realities and therefore with employment opportunities. Unless we are able to find answers to these questions, we would simply be continuing the proverbial act of throwing a stone into the bush and waiting to see what will jump out.

Having said that, it is clear, of course, that certain secular trends have to be corrected regardless of the scenarios that are possible. Among other things, the level of general education of all black students has to be raised, a much greater proportion of resources should be invested in improving language, mathematical, natural science, and managerial skills among most black students, the quality of teaching at primary and secondary school has to be raised in geometric leaps, and all of this has to be embedded in a framework of critical pedagogy where the emphasis is placed on the how much more than the what of knowledge.

It is extremely important to understand that, if we believe we have the power to make a tangible impact on South African society within the next five-to-ten year period, then the obligation devolves upon us to concert our forces and resources so that we can maximise that impact. No organisation, acting alone, can hope to come up with any results that would have more than sporadic significance. But before any planning can actually take place, we have to formulate the most important questions that require to be answered so that we can create a point of departure based on hard facts. Such a list of questions emerged out of the Oxford seminar. This workshop and any committees that emerge out of it will have to elaborate and refine the most relevant of those questions and will have to consider how the necessary research team(s) is/are to be brought together so that the main body of required facts can become available towards the end of 1989.

Academic Support Programmes

At the tertiary level--as long as segregated tribalised schooling underpins all education--this raises inevitably the controversial question of the academic support programmes. Much heat and not too much light have been generated by recent debates on this matter inside South Africa. In most respects, this debate is at least ten years out of date when measured in American terms and almost twenty years too late when measured in European terms. However, the simple beacons in the discussion are three-fold:

- Some measure of academic support (called by any name) will be essential as long as the system is based on racially-discriminatory facilities simply because, at the output side, businesses, the state, and other employers of graduates will continue to be influenced by existing (Eurocentric) standards;
- Academic support programmes cannot be based on any magic formula. There will be many different formulate, ranging from ultra-flexible, off-campus, Khanya College types of projects, to extremely artificial, rigid ASP courses that may or may not be credited for degree purposes. As long as the interchange of views and methods i.e., encouraged, all of these ought to influence one another and--unless people or institutions become trapped in debilitating dogma--the best of all methods should become accessible to all so as to be "mixed" and adapted according to the specific requirements or historical environment of each institution.
- The withering away of all academic support programmes deriving from racial discrimination must be the fundamental goal of such programmes. This places on the tertiary educational authorities the obligation to intervene in the political process directly, to restructure university courses in accordance with the fact that we are an African country within the global village of the world today. The irrelevant discussion around first world/third world priorities ought to be brought back into focus around the questions that matter in South Africa today and not those that preoccupy the "first world" or the "third world," except insofar as they happen to intersect with our own preoccupations.

Ongoing attention has to be given to the root causes of the problem, which are to be found in the socio-political structures of South Africa and in the incredibly backward and discriminatory practices in the lower reaches of the educational system(s). Unless we begin at pre-primary education, we shall be condemned to ASP and other forms of compensatory education in perpetuity.

As for the question of standards, I continue to believe in the adage that, if a thing is worth doing, it should be done right. That is to say, we are not simply interested in excellence, but in perfection itself. The question of "dropping standards" is a nonquestion, since the prior questions are: Who sets the standards? For what purpose are they set? Only once those questions have been answered on the basis of as democratic a procedure as possible can we seriously look at whether generally-accepted standards are being maintained.

There is much more to be said on this complex question, of course, but I believe we have constantly got to bring the discussion back to these three issues if we are not to erect another irrelevant academic word factory.

The Need for Coordination

Everything points to the fact that more and more people and organisations in the anti-apartheid movement (and outside South Africa) are beginning to understand the unquestionable need for coordination of resources and skills if we wish to maximise our impact on apartheid society in the short- to medium-term. Moreover, most of the significant groups have also begun to understand what is needed (and possible) is coordination and not centralisation. As long as there are significantly different political tendencies and, thus, political agendas, our attempt at centralisation is bound to be futile and, worse, divisive.

It is necessary, and possible, for all the bigger bursary-granting organisations in the anti-apartheid fold inside South Africa to set up a coordinating structure immediately. Such a structure could also try to maintain degrees of contact with other, less-prominent, and less overtly politically-defined or related bursary-granting organisations. This coordinating structure would--on the basis of the established databank and agreed-upon priorities--draw up a five-year plan (1991-1995) in terms of which each of the major organisations would carry out its task with particular focus derived from its own history and its own agenda.

Although such a coordinating structure will necessarily involve some expansion of the administrative and bureaucratic burden on each of the participating organisations, this is an essential development since we will be aiming to capture in our strategic net, as it were, elements that have slipped through previously and which have the potential of multiplying our impact a thousand times. The specific tasks of the coordinating meetings or conferences are a matter of detail, which can be worked out at the initial meetings. The more important tasks--such as avoiding duplication and promoting the rationalisation of resources--are in any case self-evident.

After the first three years of implementation of such a plan, a major national review or evaluation of the process would have to be undertaken so that the beacons for the second five-year plan can begin to be set. It would be an excellent start if the relevant organisations gathered at this workshop would seize the initiative by agreeing on a date to meet formally inside South Africa and identifying the titles of necessary position papers and the names of individuals or organisations that are willing and competent to draft them.

Two Important Bursary-Related Issues

Funding from Within. Most bursary funds that do not derive from the apartheid state appear to come from donor organizations/governments abroad. This is an unhealthy situation, but one which, under the present circumstances, cannot be circumvented very easily. We can, however, begin to do two very possible things so as to lessen the degree of dependency on foreign funding.

I believe it would not be unethical or unreasonable in the context of a liberation struggle to require a contractual commitment from bursars who complete their professional studies to donate a reasonable monthly or annual sum to a Central Bursary Fund for a minimum period of between three-and-five years after they begin to earn a salary. Such a requirement would have to have the legal status of a contract in case we should ever have to enforce it.

This possibility points to another source of internal funding; viz., the thousands of professionals as well as small business people who, probably, give very small and very dispersed sums of money towards the education of people other than their kith and kin. Again, a Central Bursary Fund could pursue this issue with the utmost vigor and, by centralising the potential funds, make possible significant interventions, especially at the level of secondary education. It also has the obvious advantage that an important sector of "the community," the oppressed people, is in this way directly brought into this process of "planning from below." Wherever possible, loans rather than grants should be offered, obviously on the easiest possible terms.

Student Support. At the Oxford discussions, it became clear that most people involved in the bursary/scholarship field have come to realize that, in South Africa, the mere granting of financial assistance toward the completion of a course of study is not adequate. Because of the many ways in which the apartheid system destroys, disrupts, prevents, or aborts a wholesome family and community life and because of the anti-apartheid climate created in the ghettos by the culture of poverty and by deliberate efflux-producing policies, students generally and bursars in particular need as a matter of course a support network that includes normal counselling and careers advice services as well as structures like resource and student centres, community libraries, reading rooms, etc. A national coordinating structure should ensure that every church and every relevant community organisation establish and run such centres. This is the most practical way in which parents individually and as part of "the community" can become involved in the education of their children and participate directly in the activities of bursary-granting organisations. Regular discussions between educationists and community organisations regarding the problems and the significance of the events in the educational arena have become imperative from the point of view of maintaining the continuity of the educational process itself. Again, there is no need at all to promote any standard, uniform, or stereotyped study centres. Let each community find its own way but let all of them through interaction influence one another's practices by adopting or adapting strong points from one another.

Vacation and weekend schools, at which especially language, mathematical, and political skills should be focused on, are an invaluable method of stimulating and identifying leadership potential. Bursary-granting organisations should organise such events for their students at tertiary level at least once per annum. Considerable pressure should be brought to bear on bursars to attend these since more than most other measures they represent strands of a progressive and new educational culture in which the values and the dynamics of a post-apartheid educational system are the immediate subject.

Another important aspect of student support services has to do with employment opportunities and follow-up. In most cases, bursary-granting organisations cannot themselves

initiate or administer linkage between students and the private or alternative sectors. However, there are organisations (such as CRIC in Cape Town) that have accumulated a certain measure of expertise in this area. Liaison with these organisations and carefully designed research on the trends in the development of the workforce (so called "manpower" projections) definitely represent one of the major backward linkages with bursary organisations.

Conclusion

There have been wide-ranging bilateral and multilateral discussions over the past several years concerning the most appropriate strategies for intervening in the educational arena with a view to meeting the immediate and short-term needs of the victims of apartheid, while at the same time helping to equip them to become effective agents of social change in the medium term. Hence, both the perturbing quantitative and qualitative realities of apartheid have to inform and shape the plan of action that, I hope, will emerge out of this workshop. This outline of a five-year plan will then have to be taken to all relevant organisations inside and outside South Africa so that feedback can be obtained by us here; i.e., if we believe we have the right to set ourselves up as a steering committee for this purpose. Depending on the political climate, such a plan could then be launched at a public conference inside South Africa or in one of the Front Line States, so as to enable people in exile to participate. But even if such a conference should be deemed to be unwise, we should proceed to implement the plan after the most extensive consultations possible with all relevant organisations regardless of their political tendency.

In sum, therefore, I propose the following steps towards the drafting of a five-year plan for bursary-granting organisations operating in South Africa or in relation to it:

- This workshop to finalise the formulation of the main economic questions that will set parameters for short-to-medium term action in the educational sphere.
- This workshop to appoint a small steering committee to commission and oversee research on the above questions.
- This workshop to recommend to all relevant bursary-granting organisations to meet and to agree on proportions of funds (starting in 1991) which will be earmarked for bursaries/scholarships for particular priority areas.
- A Central Bursary Fund and a coordinating structure be set up by all the relevant bursary-granting organisations and that, among other things, this structure commission research on and oversee the operation of such aspects of student support services as ASP, community-based reading rooms, vacation schools, post-scholarship employment opportunities and other follow-up as well as the collection of funds from ex-bursars and other professional or monied people inside South Africa.
- Other aspects of the activities of bursary-granting organisations be taken up as they arise and provision be made for periodic evaluation of strategy and implementation of agreed-upon plans.

Manpower Needs in South Africa: Challenges Facing Education and Educators

George Negota

"Analysis merely for the sake of analysis may be nothing more than an arid intellectual game, but if it is directed to a constructive purpose, then it may tender an invaluable service." A.L. Goodhart (1891-1978), English Contributions to the Philosophy of Law.

Abstract In this paper, it is argued that education must respond to the needs of the society. The most pressing need at present is liberation and, therefore, education should be the initiator of manpower so that black people should be able to manage not only their freedom but must be in a position to make South Africa a viable country. The shortage of manpower, particularly the absence of blacks in meaningful strategic positions, is the result of apartheid and Bantu Education and such cannot be allowed to exist forever. To tackle the manpower problem, it is further argued, Unions should be involved so as to create awareness in the ranks of workers that the situation now is such that they should learn not only the operation of machinery but also the administration of the factories for which they work. Mozambique and Angola are cited as examples of countries whose economies failed with the departure of the Portuguese and colonialism, because workers did not have the skills that enabled them to roll the wheels of the economy. To avoid such to fall upon ourselves, therefore, educators, unions, and community organisations must come to an agreement on a concerted approach to education.

Education, perhaps like religion, is one of the oldest of all the sciences. It is a weapon through which we are able to channel energies of people, including directing them towards the achievement of certain goals. However, in South Africa, education has been used not only to divide the people, but it has also been used to nourish and nurture an ideology of apartheid. It was intended to consolidate and in fact to be a pillar of the policy of apartheid. However, apartheid is not yet dead and the country continues with many departments of education serving the people on ethnic and racial basis. Though the damage caused by the existence of different departments of education within what is geographically one country is in evidence for all to see, this paper will address itself only to one aspect of the problem, namely 'manpower needs: challenges facing education and educators.'

It is important to know and, therefore, to note that Bantu education is continuing despite various protests by community organizations and leaders. Whilst the casualties of Bantu education continue to show their faces, its negative impact will also continue to be felt in many areas of our lives. In the economic arena, for example, blacks remain a nation of employees. Not only do they depend upon others for their means of livelihood, but most black people have become completely dependent upon wages. If they lose their jobs, they lose every resource. Such a dependence of the mass of our people upon others, therefore, calls for a reappraisal of the approach by educators, otherwise the substance of the lives of black people will continue to remain in the hands of others. The above are the effects of apartheid and, if there are no change in strategies, the status quo will remain.

Would the coming to an end of apartheid mean the automatic beginning of economic prosperity for South Africa? This is a question that should bother not only those charged with the task of educating but its importance also lies in its ability to make the oppressed analyse and understand the contents of his own struggle. The end of apartheid will not necessarily bring to an end the effects of apartheid and thus its formal end will be the beginning of the second phase of

understand the contents of his own struggle. The end of apartheid will not necessarily bring to an end the effects of apartheid and thus its formal end will be the beginning of the second phase of the struggle, which is the struggle of learning to do things for ourselves, including the management of resources. This is where the role of manpower comes in.

Manpower is the most productive force that has stood the test of time in many countries. It sets the wheels of the economy not only in motion, but it is the very source of stability, the surest guarantee for development. To speak about manpower without speaking about education will be like trying to build a house without building materials; i.e., the creation of an unthinkable situation. The above, therefore, means that education is the source of manpower upon which any country depends. That is perhaps why, once manpower and education are set in motion, it becomes difficult for one to know which one has come first and, therefore, which gave birth to which. Is it education or manpower that matters?

That South Africa is endowed with rich mineral and agricultural resources was never in dispute. What is in dispute, however, is whether South Africa deliberately ignored developing her people, particularly the black people, to fulfill the manpower needs required to manage the said resources. If there were anything to talk about on 'manpower' in South Africa, we would be talking about 'white people' upon whose skills the country is currently depending. The planners of the apartheid system never envisaged blacks as partners both in the political and economic arenas. It was planned that the 'white nation' would have sole political control through its central legislature elected only by whites, and consequently sole control of the country's fiscal resources. In the remaining 13.7 percent of South Africa's land area, eight Bantu-African nations are to develop to ultimate sovereignty.(1)

The Eiselen Commission of 1949-51 formed the turning point in African education because from its recommendations the Bantu Education Act of 1953 came into being and from henceforth "education ceased to exist in a vacuum and became closely coordinated with a definite and carefully planned policy for the development of the Bantu in all spheres, but in particular through the setting up of separate Bantu Homelands."(2) Dr. Verwoerd saw the purpose of education as "to train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life."(3)

The above statements and the subsequent introduction of "homeland" governments were an indication that blacks were never intended to contribute to the development of the economy, particularly in the urban areas of South Africa. The government subsequently confirmed its philosophy by having different expenditures for school children of different races. In 1945, for example, it was reported that the Government spent R14,46 per white child, R3,97 per so-called coloured and per Asians, and R0,60 per African child.(4)

The above situation had negative impact upon the development of skilled manpower in the black community. It is, therefore, clear from the above that the South African Government concentrated its efforts on the development of white skills because, according to their policy, 'Urban Areas' were for white people where blacks could only come as temporary sojourners. Little did the planners of apartheid realize the fact that the more the economy grew, the more demand for skilled manpower the country was going to need. The provision of educational facilities at black schools was completely ignored with many black schools depending upon the contribution by the communities themselves.(5)

The above, coupled with the subsequent introduction of influx control laws, clearly paved the way for the development and the consolidation of white skilled manpower alone, whereas the desire by black people to study was directly and indirectly suppressed. The tightening of influx

control impeded any ambition on the part of blacks to study for professions that were not needed in the homelands and in the homelands useful professions were nursing, teaching, and the medical profession. The fact that there were no laboratories and other necessary equipment geared to give education a meaningful shape ensured that only few people went for the medical profession. Other professions were just not considered because they were not to be useful in the "homelands" and, also, there were no black models to attract students to study towards professions such as accounting and engineering.

In the commercial arena, there was no room for black managers and every available human resource was for the use by and for the development of white managers. There was a similarity in thinking between the Government and the corporate world as far as the attitude towards black management and development is concerned. Because of the above, therefore, the stage was then set for what we see today as an unfair economic arrangement. Not only are white people dominating managerial positions, but the fact that when we talk of manpower in engineering and technical areas, we are virtually referring to them, empowered them to determine not only the pace of technological advancement with which the country had to take, but they were in a position to determine the standards by which newcomers into the said professions were to be measured.

According to figures provided by the department of statistics in 1987,⁽⁶⁾ South Africa had, in total, 1,164 chemical engineers, of whom seven were Africans, 28 Indians, one so-called coloured, and 1,058 whites. There were also 4,499 civil engineers, of whom 14 were Africans, 27 so-called coloureds, and 4,395 whites. There were 33 African electrical engineers, 12 Indians, 54 so-called coloureds, and 1,700 whites.

There were 2,779 dentists of whom 18 were Africans, 19 Indians, 343 so-called coloureds, and 2,396 whites. There are presently 13,309 chartered accountants in South Africa of whom 21 are Africans, 213 Indians, 75 so-called coloureds, and 13,000 whites.

In 1987, there were 94 vacancies for quantity surveyors, 3,220 for pharmacists, 65 for actuaries, 628 for auditors, 47 for chemical engineers, 282 civil, and 119 electrical engineers. It should be noted that the above position obtained despite the fact that the economy was already under siege.

In the legal profession the picture is even gloomier. In the 1986/87 period, South Africa had a total number of 871 advocates, of whom 75 were from the African, coloured, and Indian communities. The above advocates were spread across the country as follows:

Natal	32	Kimberly	1
Johannesburg	16	Grahamstown	5
Pretoria	4	Mafikeng	2
Cape Town	77	Umtata	8
Blomefontein	0		

Of the 651 black attorneys, 300 were Africans; the rest comprised attorneys from both the so-called coloured and the Indian communities. The question that now has to be asked is: If we

were to be liberated today, do we have enough manpower to manage?

If liberation has to represent the aspirations of the majority of the people, the majority of the people should produce men and women to man and manage the resources of the country. The above statistics would, however, reveal that, if freedom of the people of South Africa were to come now, the already existing manpower problem cannot immediately be improved.

Indeed, liberation may bring with it the opening of opportunities for all, but, for freedom to be meaningful to the majority of the people, they will have to occupy not only strategic positions, but they will also have to be decision makers. One wonders if the number of black professionals in the black community can bring about the desired change to an extent that the government can be 'the people's' government.

In commerce and industry, there is a dire shortage of black managers to the extent that 'black advancement' programmes are not taking off from the ground. The phase and direction of corporate South Africa will not change unless we have enough conscientious and educated blacks to pose a challenge to the status quo. Corporate South Africa itself is, however, aware of the need to advance blacks, but they often play it down for a variety of reasons. Some companies would appoint blacks and create some form of "homelands" within their departments, so that a black person can manage only blacks to avoid blacks having white subordinates.

This seems to be the dilemma that corporate South Africa is still facing. It is not surprising to find a black supervisor earning less than his/her white subordinates and such cases are still found, especially in the so-called progressive companies. The majority of blacks are placed in public and industrial relations departments where they are often posed for window dressing purposes. Admittedly, there are companies that have committed themselves to 50 percent of black managers within a certain period. However, the giving of substance to the above goal is something that remains to be seen.

This paper is deliberately laying emphasis on the black manpower needs problem without addressing itself to manpower needs with regard to the white community. White people as a backbone of manpower have proved to be unreliable in Africa with the recent examples being Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Angola. In South Africa, there is already a brain drain, which is in response to the political heat that has gripped the country. The following statistics are helpful in showing the number of whites who have left the country:

**EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION IN PROFESSIONAL, SEMI-PROFESSIONAL, AND
TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS IN 1987**

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Emigrants</i>	<i>Immigrants</i>
Doctors & specialists	93	52
Dentists & dental specialists	13	8
Medical personnel (excluding doctors & dentists)	274	142
Attorneys & advocates	5	11
Legal personnel (excluding attorneys & advocates)	8	2
Architects & townplanners	28	10
Social workers	11	5
Quantity surveyors	133	86
Scientists	21	9
Engineers	481	351
Mathematical & computer scientists	131	65
Accountants & economists	222	64
Educationalists	253	91
Religious personnel	45	4
Authors	34	16
Art & design personnel	37	31
Sportspeople	7	9
Professional, semiprofessional & teaching personnel	86	45
<i>Total</i>	1973	1071

EMIGRANTS BY OCCUPATION

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Year 1986</i>	<i>Year 1987</i>
Professional, semiprofessional & technical	2,313	1,973
Managerial, executive & administrative	13	8
Clerical & sales	1,285	921
Transport delivery & communications	52	30
Artisan, apprentice & related	-	547
Production foreman & supervisor, miner & quarry worker, operation, production & related worker	964	100
Unspecified & not economically classified	260	310
<i>Total: Economically active</i>	<i>5,578</i>	<i>4,544</i>
<i>Total: Not economically active</i>	<i>8133</i>	<i>6,630</i>
<i>Grand Total</i>	<i>13,711</i>	<i>11,174</i>

Central Statistical Data: Pretoria

The seriousness of manpower needs has recently vilified black-owned commercial undertakings. Black Chain, a black-owned supermarket, and the African Bank have gone through strenuous management crisis. Though the founding of the above companies was a patriotic initiative by NAFCOC,(7) realisation suddenly dawned upon black business concerns and their management. The one may only require the putting together of thoughts, whereas on the other hand management requires not only knowledge but a constant subjecting of the manager to training to enable him not only to cope with the growth of the business, but also to enable him to develop new business tactics. Though the above setbacks are indeed regarded as of a temporary nature, the message flowing from such lessons remain on the wall to be noted.

In the agricultural area, there is only a handful of commercial farmers. This is mainly attributable to the lack of land. Agriculture as the backbone of both developing and developed nations cannot be ignored. The shortage of trained professional farmers can also be attributed to the weakness of black education. Black education never addressed itself to the needs of blacks within the context of black people's aspirations. It furthered the agenda as planned and determined by the Government for blacks.

Challenges Facing Educators

To be relevant to the South African situation, educators and education should address manpower needs of the country. Educators should also use as a starting point the question: "If blacks were to be free in South Africa, which are the most demanding professions that would be needed to make the country viable?" It is from that question that the development of programmes can be taken further, including the funding of students. For the country to be viable, there is a

need for engineers, economists, commercial farmers, pharmacists, teachers, and health policy planners. Educators would therefore need to make some form of projections based on what the country would need, not only in the year 2000, but also in the event of achieving freedom.

This is not in any way suggestive of the need to restrict the financial assistance that should go to students, but it is because it is believed it can serve as a goalpost for both educator and the community so that both should work towards a certain target. Whilst the preparation for tomorrow starts today, tomorrow will also depend upon the quality of the products that are being produced. In brief, if we are all working towards the transformation of the South African society, any form of educational venture should be directed towards advancing people, not only to achieve freedom, but also to train them to be able to man their freedom when they have achieved it.

Informal education has the inherent element of a remedial nature. It serves, not only to broaden the scope of knowledge of those who never had the opportunity of formal education, but if in good hands it is capable of improving the quality of life. Informal education is broad and its effectiveness can be realised, if it is done with the support of community-based organisations.

In the light of all that has been said above, the question that may arise is: Why paint an oblique picture of manpower and what about the in-house training conducted by companies for their staff?

Are agencies such as CATS and JMDP(8) and various business schools not able to address manpower needs effectively? Efforts by companies and agencies are often directed at addressing short-term needs. They often ignore the root cause of the problem and rather deal with the symptoms. The root cause of management and manpower needs lies in education. The training programs conducted by companies are often of a commercial nature and are therefore exclusive in the sense that they are not relevant to community-based organisations. Whereas the shortage of manpower is seen as a problem that will affect the general welfare of the economic well-being of the country, companies are often not concerned about such wide interpretation of the problem, but they often concern themselves with their own domestic management problems.

If education has to be meaningful towards uplifting the economy, particularly in making as many people as possible participate in the economy, trade unions should be considered as partners in educational programmes. If union members are left out, we may well be on our way to repeating the Mozambiquan and Angolan experience. In these countries, workers never bothered about doing more than selling their hands to factories. Upon the departure of colonialism and the Portuguese people, workers were not only unable to manipulate the machinery, but they were also unable to administer the plants left in their hands. This is where educators and education and should come in to respond to the manpower needs of the people.

Education's role in South Africa, therefore, needs to be redefined. If the Government has used it to oppress and to suppress, it is high time we use it to liberate and if, indeed, it has been used to dispossess the masses, this is the time to use it to empower the black people economically. It is important that those who are being educated are being educated for defined roles within the context of the aspirations of the oppressed people. If we do not act now, the problems that we have in our hands will continue into the post-apartheid era. Let us prepare now for a free country that will be viable both in the economic and political sense.

Notes

- 1) Ellen Hellman: The crux of the race problem in South Africa. In South African dialogue by Nic Rhodie.
- 2) Bantu education: J.J. Van Zyl. Ibid.
- 3) General Assembly Hansard 10 of 1953, Cols 3576, 3585
- 4) Muriel Horrell: Education in an apartheid society. Ibid.
- 5) Bantu education was not for the development of blacks. The best a black person was able to achieve was in teaching, nursing. There were just no green pastures for them.
- 6) The above statistics are from the department of statistics in Pretoria. The Government, I am told, conducts surveys of different professions periodically.
- 7) NAFCOC stands for the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry. This organisation gave birth to Black Chain, The African Bank, and the now seemingly-defunct African Development Construction and Holdings (ADC&H).
- 8) CATS is a management programme of the German Chamber of Commerce in South Africa. It develops employees who are employed by different companies with a view to promoting such employees to management positions. JMDP is the brainchild of the Black Management Forum (BMF), NAFCOC, the Urban Foundation (U.F.), and the Paris Chamber of Commerce. In both programmes, CATS and JMDP, students are taught for a certain period and then go back to their respective places of employment. They often work under appointed mentors who assist them with assignments.

How Do Recent Developments in Tertiary Education in South Africa Affect Overseas Study? Observations and Questions from a U.S.-based Bursary Administering Agency

Sheila Avrin McLean

Background

The Institute of International Education (IIE) is a New York-headquartered, nongovernmental organization that has managed international educational programs for seventy years. It currently operates 249 programs for 214 sponsors in 155 countries. IIE generally views educational exchange as necessary to promote the cross-cultural understanding so vital to an increasingly interdependent world.

IIE's involvement with South Africa began in 1978 when its then president went to South Africa and surveyed existing tertiary educational opportunities for black South Africans. After consulting with South African educationists and community leaders, especially the South African Council of Churches (SACC), IIE, together with a number of South Africans, created a program for degree study in the United States that it calls the South African Education Program (SAEP). SAEP was designed to help compensate in modest measure for the dismally poor tertiary educational opportunities then available to black South Africans at home.

SAEP today is the oldest and largest privately-administered program for returning South Africans to pursue tertiary education outside of South Africa. It is also an unusual example of a public-private sector collaboration. IIE's original support came from U.S. foundations, corporations, and universities that waived tuition. Over the past decade, IIE has found that the South Africans who have come to U.S. campuses under SAEP have enriched the lives of Americans at least as much as they have taken back with them from their U.S. education. Since 1981, the U.S. Government has been a partner of the other sectors supporting SAEP. SAEP has its own advisory council of representatives of universities, foundations, and corporations, chaired by Derek Bok, President of Harvard University.

At its inception, IIE and the SACC worked to design appropriate selection mechanisms. Out of these early efforts, the Educational Opportunities Council (EOC), headquartered in Johannesburg, was founded. Over the past eight years, EOC and SAEP have collaborated on selections in South Africa, with the aim of selecting students on a competitive basis, from diverse backgrounds, and with good geographic representation and a range of fields of study. For the 1989 selections, EOC received about 10,000 inquiries and over 2,000 final applications. After interviews, approximately 166 candidates qualified for the approximately 85 openings available at U.S. colleges and universities.

In the past decade, SAEP, joined in 1984 by Aurora Associates, has brought over 700 black South Africans to study at over 200 U.S. universities. To date, nearly 400 of these students have completed degrees and returned to South Africa. Table I lists as of April 1989 fields of study of SAEP participants, broken down by graduate/undergraduate programs, by alumnae and current students, and by gender. Some SAEP students who receive first degrees remain in the United States for second degrees under other sponsorship. At the moment, there are 26 such participants in the program.

IIE measures success under SAEP in terms of receipt of degree and return to South Africa. Black South Africans studying under SAEP auspices have an extraordinarily high, 96-7 percent,

success rate.

All of these efforts are designed to educate people committed to return to South Africa and contribute their newly-acquired skills to building a future South Africa. Many SAEP graduates are moving into leadership positions in academia, social services, and the private sector. The EOC and a newly-formed alumni association are monitoring career activities of SAEP graduates. For example, fifty-eight SAEP graduates currently work at thirteen South African universities, teaching a new generation of South Africans.

IIE's South African Programs have attempted to consult broadly within South Africa and react appropriately with programs designed to meet the perceived educational needs of the black community. Because the regular funders of SAEP do not support religious studies and because we had heard from South African clergy of a particular educational need, IIE and EOC in 1986 began a separate Church Leaders Development Program, funded by U.S. seminaries, the Ford Foundation, and some religious organizations. The special advantage of theological study in the United States is that U.S. seminaries regularly offer courses in liberation theology, black theology, and social science disciplines, curricula not typically available in South Africa's seminaries. Archbishop Tutu appointed a separate committee, advisory to the EOC, to assist in these selections. To date, 24 clergymen and women have studied under this program, with 10 having returned to South Africa with masters degrees.

In addition, responding to the two-fold need expressed by many South Africans--that South Africans not leave their homes for too long for overseas study and that people who study abroad return with a commitment to serve their communities--in 1987, after consultation conducted by Professor John Marcum of the University of California, IIE, the University of California, and EOC began a unique short-term training program that IIE calls the Career Development Fellowship Program (CDFP). IIE and the EOC continue to consult broadly both within South Africa and outside the country in developing this new program. CDFP is a unique, mentor-guided opportunity for mid-career, black South Africans to pursue up-to-six month programs that blend practical and academic training in the United States. Many CDFP fellows do not have university degrees and all need specialized training that they design with their mentors. To date, CDFP has been supported by private foundations and U.S. universities. As of April 1989, 47 CDFP participants have undertaken the program in such diverse fields as pre-primary education, black psychology, trade unionism, community organizing, and small business development.

Changes in Tertiary Education for Black South Africans During the 1980s

When IIE worked with the SACC in the late 1970s to create SAEP and its sister selection agency, the EOC, overseas study was one of the only viable options for tertiary education available to black South Africans. Black universities inside the country were limited in numbers and scope; they were also frequently closed because of student strikes. The white universities were mainly closed to black students. In the decade of the 1980s, educational opportunities for black South Africans inside South Africa have increased in important ways. IIE is now considering ways to respond to the developments of the past decade in order to maximize the benefit of SAEP and its sister programs and is seeking the advice of South African educationists and other experts.

This paper is an effort to establish the framework for developing an informed response through the SAEP to changes during the 1980s in South African tertiary education. It is structured as a brief outline of the major changes as supported by the data available to IIE in early

April 1989, some tentative implications drawn from the general trends, and a preliminary analysis of how these factors influence reevaluating SAEP. It is intended as a discussion document and must be informed and refined based on broader consultations and more up-to-date statistics.

Recent Changes in South Africa's Tertiary Education that Have an Impact on Black South Africans:

Formerly white universities have opened up to black South Africans.

In 1983, the government attempted to replace its permit system at white universities with a quota system. Several universities refused to implement the quota system and, by 1985, they were allowed to admit students without regard to race. Data provided in Race Relations Survey 1987/88 indicates that, of a total of 47,107 students in 1987 at the English language universities of Cape Town, Natal, Rhodes, and the Witwatersrand, 10,074 (or 22 percent of the student population) were blacks. The comparative figures for the previous year for these universities was 8,615 (or 18.9 percent of the student population). IIE has been told by these universities that they intend to continue to increase the size of their black student body.

According to information provided by SACHED Trust in Education in South Africa: Some Facts and Figures, while de jure restrictions have been removed in terms of entry to these universities, poor matric results and high fees work against the majority of black students. In addition, the Educational Policy Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand, in Universities, Society and the State: South African Universities 1986-1987, indicates that in most cases bursary assistance is only available if a particular field of study is followed, which has a severe natural science bias. Formerly white universities increasingly argue that, due to serious reductions in state funds, they must rely on limited private sector and foreign funds to meet the financial needs of eligible blacks.

While numbers of entering black students have increased dramatically, IIE has, to date, been unable to obtain hard statistics on the success rates of black students at formerly white universities. It would be particularly helpful to have such information, broken down by field of study and degrees obtained.

- While once considered "bush" universities of no consequence, black universities inside South Africa are increasingly recognized as the major training grounds for black undergraduates in South Africa. According to Race Relations Survey 1987/88, tertiary institutional student enrollment for 1987 showed that just over 4,000 African students were at English-speaking, "open" universities (9 percent of total), while over 30,000 African students were enrolled in black universities. Despite this fact, the reality of these institutions is that their geographical isolation and other factors cause difficulty in faculty recruitment and academic quality may suffer accordingly.
- New opportunities are opening up for blacks to attend technikons, technical colleges, and teacher-training colleges. Statistics compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations in its Race Relations Survey 1987/88 (p. 176) indicate that in 1985 there were 19 technical colleges for Africans (as against 20 in 1984) in the white-designated areas of South Africa. There were 23 technical colleges and industrial training centers (as against 21 in 1984) in the "nonindependent" homelands. With effect from the beginning of 1988, white technikons were able to admit students of all races "subject to the policy of admission." At the time of publication of Race Relations Survey 1987/88, discussions were still continuing as to what the specific policies of admission would be at the

formerly-white technikons.

Theo Coggin, Deputy Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, argues in a paper presented in September 1988, "Financing Tertiary Level Education," that there is a new urgency for funds to be provided so that black students can receive vocational and technical training. Economic realities and the need for well-trained black people, according to Coggin, suggest that the number of these colleges must be increased, and their administrations must deracialise them. Recent conversations with South African educationists reflect that, in addition to increasing the facilities for, and access to, technical colleges, there is an urgent need to address the prestige attached to technical training relative to university education.

- In recent years, foreign assistance in support of enhanced education for black South Africans, both inside and outside the country, has increased substantially. In 1987-88, the British Council, for example, provided external bursaries for approximately 80 undergraduates plus a handful of graduate students. Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Australia, and France have recently increased bilateral aid for tertiary education inside South Africa and Canada has announced plans to start a bursary program modelled on SAEP and CDFP. U.S. corporations that have announced disinvestment have created trusts within South Africa with total capital approaching \$80 million; many of these trusts support bursaries.

There is a critical need for systematic information sharing among donors to avoid duplication of efforts and to minimize waste of scarce resources. The International Donors Workshop On Educational Initiatives for Black South Africans, convened by IIE in September 1988, began to address these issues.

- Certain fields of study are now more open to blacks within the country. With the removal of permit and quota regulations on universities, blacks are nominally free to study formerly-restricted subjects. At Stellenbosch University, for example, black students wishing to register for medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, nursing, paramedical courses, optometry, surveying, agriculture, and veterinary science no longer have to obtain ministerial consent. However, blacks remain restricted by inferior primary and secondary education and by lack of funding for certain fields of study.

In order properly to assess the responsiveness of external educational programs, foreign sponsors need a thorough inventory and analysis of the fields of study currently available to blacks at South African universities and the funding available for each. What constitutes priority fields of study is a moral and political decision that can only be made by correct consultation with black South Africans, and not by foreign program sponsors themselves.

- Continuing resistance and repression on many university campuses has resulted in frequent academic disruptions. The events of the last two years have demonstrated a focused attack on universities--mainly the so-called "open" universities. These events have included more direct police intervention on campuses, the threat to tie continued state funding of universities to their carrying out a policing function, and the effective reduction of state financing of university education.

Some Implications:

The Educational Policy Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand, in "Universities, Society and the State: South African Universities 1986-87" (p.13), reached the following

conclusions on the future challenges to tertiary education in South Africa:

- The deepening economic crisis is likely to lead to diminishing state funds made available for universities.
- Universities will look increasingly to the private sector and to international agencies to cover the funding shortfall. These sources will never be able to cover the necessary deficit.
- Black enrollments will increase dramatically over the next decade.
- The authorities are attempting to control the universities, and may begin to do so by legislating controls over private fundraising.

From IIE's position as a U.S.-based program administrator, it is impossible to ascertain the degree to which, or the rate at which, changes in tertiary education in South Africa will continue or how political, social, and economic realities within South Africa will shape such changes. For example, the economic crisis facing the government appears to raise conflicting issues. Although the state has already severely reduced funding, the National Manpower Commission has estimated that the country will face a shortage of 228,000 university graduates by 2000. This factor is coupled with demographic reality that, by projections of the University of Pretoria, shows that its white enrollment will peak at about 24,000 in 1990 and fall to 15,000 by 1997. Statistics at the other white universities are likely to be similar.

A 1988 publication of the Research Unit of the Educational Opportunities Council, The South African Black Academic Register, provides extensive data concerning numbers of black professors, lecturers, and staff of the "black" universities (excluding Western Cape and Durban-Westville). Although the total black staff at these universities has risen to approximately 50 percent, this significant gain is tempered by the data reflecting the levels of seniority and fields of expertise. For instance, even in the faculties of arts, where an overwhelming proportion of black academics is located, there are often no, or only token, numbers at the level of full or assistant professor, and the vast majority of black staff are in one of the three lecturer categories. In fields such as science, economics, mathematics, law, and agriculture, black professors are rare to nonexistent and most of the staff is at a low lecturer level. This data reflects the critical lack of black staff development work being undertaken and highlights the continued restrictions on access of blacks to certain fields of study at the secondary, university, and graduate levels.

Much more information is required in order to analyze these changes thoroughly. Meaningful statistics are difficult to obtain, and those that do appear are often contradictory. To develop a strategy for programmatic responses to changes at the tertiary education level, educationists concerned with tertiary education need to know such fundamental facts as:

- The selection criteria for admission to universities and technikons and the various new models for selection that have been created at different institutions;
- The models for bridging and academic support programs which have been developed by universities and technikons and the effectiveness of such programs;

The quality of education provided to students at "black" universities, based upon data regarding alumni employment and/or graduate training opportunities as well as candid assessments by South African educators;

- Frequency of class disruptions due to student boycotts at "black" versus "open" universities;
- Fields of study available to blacks in "black" and "open" universities;
- The success rates for black students, broken down by "black" and "open" universities, by fields of study, and by the numbers of degrees and honors awarded to black students; and
- The numbers of black faculty and administrators in so-called "open" universities.

Another factor that is bound to affect tertiary education in South Africa and for which additional data is needed is the quality of learning occurring at the secondary level. In a 1986 article in *Omn*i, entitled "Back to Basics," Ken Hartshorne of the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of the Witwatersrand wrote that although students have returned to school since the 1985-86 disruptions,

- An official record of 80 percent attendance...is no guarantee that learning is taking place: Teachers are dispirited, pupils are restless and disturbed by what is going on around them...regular learning habits are breaking down, pupils do not bring books to school, are not prepared to do homework or have their work evaluated by means of tests or examinations... (page 66).

The list of needed information goes on. To complicate the situation further, hundreds of secondary-level students have been detained or shun school attendance in order to avoid becoming detained. For others, political activity takes priority over school work. How these circumstances will affect selection mechanisms for bursaries is another important issue.

How Do These Factors Affect Overseas Study?

Once further information has been gathered, analyses completed, and consultations conducted, several options for programmatic responses to changing educational needs may arise. Among the options to consider are the following:

- Limit external bursaries mainly to graduate-level study or to particular fields of study still inaccessible to black students inside South Africa.
- Reserve some undergraduate options for South Africans with a particularly compelling reason to leave the country for overseas study.
- Conduct short-term programs abroad to provide exposure to different societies and methods of learning for black students undertaking degree programs at South African universities.
- Build institutional capacities by training university and technikon educators and administrators through short-term programs to provide exposure to overseas initiatives in technical education and to establish ongoing links between South African and overseas educators.
- Establish programs for short-term overseas research study for black South Africans pursuing masters degrees and Ph.D.s, particularly at historically-black South African universities and technikons, to provide an option for black academics who may not wish to

leave South Africa for a graduate degree program, but who could benefit from exposure to the latest intellectual developments outside South Africa, particularly in fields not traditionally open to them.

IIE raises these questions and possible options as a way of focusing a continuing dialogue with South African educationists and its U.S. advisors. SAEP and its companion training programs for black South Africans should aim effectively to compensate for some of the inequities and inadequacies in tertiary education available to blacks within South Africa. But it is only a complement to what is happening inside the country. Because these programs to date have been highly successful, IIE hesitates to make major changes unless they are warranted by shifting needs of the community it serves.

Overseas study, never a substitute for the needs within a country, is an especially helpful alternative in a situation fraught with volatile political, social, and economic factors. Moreover, from the standpoint of those in the United States who are affected by the SAEP participants, it is critical to continue to hear directly from South Africans about developments in their country. Such contact has been of inestimable value in assuring an informed, private voice to help influence U.S. foreign policy and in enriching the understanding of the U.S. academics, students, and university communities who have shared the opportunity for direct contact with South Africans.

International studies have long-term diplomatic, foreign policy, and economic benefits. Reading through the reflections of former SAEP participants makes it strikingly clear that, for many, the intellectual impact was a profound one--that basic assumptions were challenged, new questions raised, perspectives broadened, insights deepened. These are elusive phrases, but they go to the heart of what it means to be an educated person in today's world: an individual with an inquiring and disciplined mind who also has the breadth of experience that enables knowledge from diverse fields and cultures to be integrated. The accounts of these SAEP participants remind us of the important role international study can play in enlarging and illuminating one's life.

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